The Outlook

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THE STORY OF THE WAR

BY ARTHUR BULLARD

THE OUTLOOK'S WAR CORRESPONDENT AT HOME

THE third week of the war—from August 19 to 26—was marked by severe fighting all along the line from Antwerp to the Swiss border. As we go to press the outcome is still, to use the phrase of Homer, on the knees of the gods. But the German armies on the French frontier have scored definite successes. There is a distinct tone of serious concern in the official announcements from London and Paris. Lord Kitchener, in addressing the House of Lords, foretold a long and bitter conflict. Berlin is celebrating victories.

WAR ON A NEW SCALE

One thing is clear. We shall have to revise the meaning we give to the word "battle." The week brought news of a dozen "engagements" each greater in the number of soldiers involved and probably greater in loss of life than most of Creasy's "Decisive Battles of the World." Thermopylæ was a very small affair indeed compared to Liège, Haelen, Dinant, Mülhausen, Lunéville, Neufchateau, and the struggles about Charleroi. They would have been "battles" in Napoleon's days. In this war they are "officially" described as "outpost actions."

War has been "trustified." And just as a score of steel mills which once seemed gigantic have become small parts of the merger of the United States Steel Corporation, so to-day the bloodiest battle has significance only in its relation to the centralized plans of the opposing General Staffs.

The British War Office, for instance, announced on August 24 that the English troops about Mons had been engaged for twenty-four hours and that their lines held firm. This is important or unimportant according to whether Mons was an outpost which the English did not hope to hold or a place they had picked out for a last stand. Its importance also depends on how anxious the Germans were to take the place. We can imagine that von Moltke, the German Chief of Staff, had, like his illustrious uncle, planned this campaign in detail, had foreseen each move from the resistance of Liège to the entry into Brussels, and had staked his hope on turning the left of the French line of forts at La Fere. If so, he would have to drive the British out of Mons at all costs, and their resistance would be for him a defeat.

But perhaps—we have no definite information—the German commander before Mons had orders to keep the English busy at the extreme left of the Allies' line so that they could not bear help to the French where the main attack was planned. In this case the Germans would not be displeased to hear that the English had stood fast.

We are getting reports—uncertain, conflicting reports—of a stupendous chess game in which only the first moves have been made. What move has significance we cannot know until we hear what the two sides have been trying to do—perhaps not until the generals retire on pensions and begin to write their memoirs.

THE GERMAN ADVANCE IN BELGIUM

During the third week of the war the Germans overran practically all of Belgium. Their principal opposition seems to have come from the small native army. They pushed it back steadily and broke through the line of the Allies, forcing the Belgians to retreat northward to Antwerp behind their fortifications, and folding the Anglo-French army back to a line which is very close to the Belgian southern frontier.

Having divided the Allies in this manner, the Germans had a clear road to Brussels,

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and entered that capital unopposed on August 20. Light cavalry scouting parties pushed west through Ghent and to, or near, the coast of the English Channel. But the main force, which passed through Brussels, seems to have turned south towards Mons and the French frontier.

Namur has fallen into their hands. This is a brilliant feat for the German arms, as the place was considered to be stronger than Liège, and was expected to put up at least as determined a resistance. No details of this action have reached us. But here, as at Huy, the Krupp siege guns must have done themselves proud.

The importance of this campaign in Belgium depends entirely on an unknown quantity—how intensely did the French and English try to resist this German advance? Two possibilities are worth considering.

First, the Allies may have strained every resource to support the little Belgian army. They may have failed to reach the front in time, through some mismanagement in transportation. They may have suffered disastrous reverses of which the censors have suppressed all news.

Secondly, they may have decided to leave Belgium to its fate, and to solidify their defenses on the line they considered most advantageous—somewhere near the French border. In this case all the fighting in Belgium has been skirmishing, the retrogressive movement of the Allies part of a predetermined plan.

The French and English General Staffs have carefully studied all the strategical features of Belgium. The New York "Evening Post's" London correspondent writes that he has reason to believe that Lord Kitchener made a secret visit to this part of Europe during the summer and went over the ground personally. It is possible that the Allies have not lost a single position in Belgium which they hoped to hold.

The dispirited tone of the despatches from London and Paris, more than any facts they contain, tends to show that the Allies are having an unexpectedly hard time.

THE GERMAN ARMY OF THE CENTER

As was anticipated, the German forces operating between Luxemburg and the Vosges have developed a formidable advance. The French War Office announced on August 25 that the fighting had been severe, that their army was outnumbered and had been forced to retire, and that the Germans had occupied some French territory around Nancy. On the same date a message came from Berlin by wireless, telling of an "official" announcement by the War Office of three distinct victories in this region. An army under the Grand Duke of Wurtemburg defeated the French at Neufchateau in southeastern Belgium. An army under the Crown Prince drove the French across their border at Longwy. And the left wing of this center army, commanded by the Prince Heriter of Bavaria, occupied several villages about Nancy, well within the French frontier. The French defeats were serious; large numbers of men, including superior officers, and many guns were captured. Whether this advance is in sufficient force to threaten the French forts is uncertain as we go to press, but it probably is.

The French War Office has announced that, as there is pressing need for troops in the north, the offensive campaign in the Vosges and in Alsace has been temporarily abandoned. Mülhausen has been evacuated and the French army has retired to a defensive position.

The real importance of these engagements cannot be reckoned in our present ignorance of the intentions of the belligerents. On the whole, it appears that the French advance has been everywhere stopped. But the relation between the cost of the German advantages and their worth is uncertain.

ANTE-BELLUM PLANS

While it is impossible to guess with any surety the actual plans of the opposing General Staffs, there is a large literature in every language of Europe on probable war plans.

Certainly all military writers have laid great stress on the expected "dashing attack" of the Germans. I have not found a single such discussion in which either a French or German writer expected that the German army would be kept out of northern France as long as this.

The occupation of Brussels and the capture of a few French border villages is very much less than students of strategy expected the Germans to accomplish in three weeks.

The reduction of Namur in three days is the achievement so far of which the Germans have most reason to boast. But Namur is not in France.

The German advance has been steady, uninterrupted—slow. The Allies, even if

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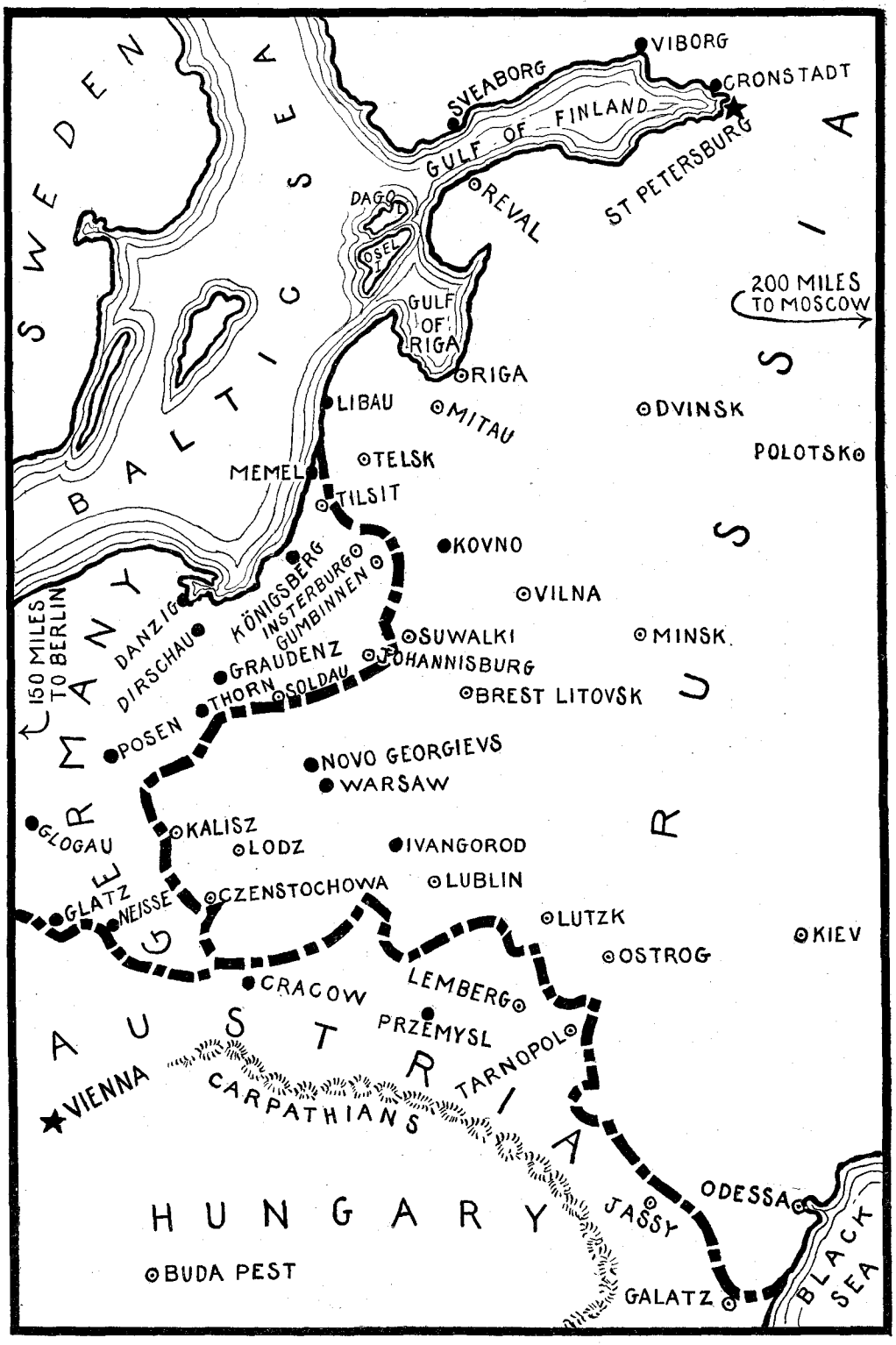

DRAWN FOR THE OUTLOOK BY RUDOLPH SCHOENE

THE FRONTIER LINES OF RUSSIA, GERMANY, AND AUSTRIA

A rough circle drawn through Glogau, Danzig, Königsberg, Minsk, Lutzk, and Cracow would approximate the boundaries of mediæval Poland

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the defeats announced from Berlin are not exaggerated, are at this writing as far advanced as they were expected to be. If the Germans planned a "dashing attack," it has not materialized.

Another of the ante-bellum war plans which is worth note is the rôle assigned to the French border army.

In the war of 1870 the decisive point was reached when Marshal MacMahon had to choose between throwing his large army to the defense of Metz or covering Paris. He decided on the latter course. The two main French armies were separated. Marshal Bazaine was left to his fate at Metz. MacMahon began a retreat with the object of keeping between Paris and the Germans. He was forced into a corner at Sedan and overwhelmed.

There is not a French military text-book in which this disastrous move is not discussed. Their General Staff has planned to make its repetition impossible. General Joffre, with his army along the frontier, does not have to trouble about the defense of Paris. Back of him is an intricate system of forts fully manned and equipped. The rest of France is expected to take care of the capital. His army is intended for offense. If he gets into difficulties, he will not have to worry about withdrawing his forces in good order. He is expected to strike as long as he has a man left alive. His object, of course, is victory—to defeat the enemy. But even if his army is annihilated it will have done its duty if it has seriously weakened the enemy.

ITALY

Persistent rumors have been afloat during the week that Italy was about to join the Allies and attack Austria. One circumstantial despatch says that the Dual Monarchy has redrawn some of its troops from Alsace to guard the Italian border. It is certain that serious forces have been concentrated on both sides of the Austro-Italian frontier. Hostilities may break out at any moment.

THE AUSTRO-SERB CAMPAIGN

The first authentic news of a decisive victory comes from Servia. The Austrian invasion has been definitely repulsed. The Serbs have published a detailed list of the spoils they collected on the battlefield, and this list gives evidence of a thoroughgoing rout.

With the Montenegrins—who have a law on their statute-books against cowardice—in the field beside them, and the Anglo-French fleet bombarding Cattaro on the Adriatic, there is every chance of Servia recovering her "lost provinces" of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Austrians have officially announced that they have temporarily abandoned their "punitive expeditions." The pressure of Russia on the northeast and the threat of Italian action on the west promise to keep Austria's army too busy to continue at present her attempt to chastise Servia.

RUSSIA BEGINS TO MOVE

There was no news of serious operations on the Austro-Russian frontiers during the third week of the war. But the army corps from Odessa and Kiev must be approaching the border. They ought easily to outnumber the force Austria can oppose to them. The one serious fortification they will encounter is Przemysl; but the Carpathians are a national defense, and it is probable that the southern Russian army will try to advance in a northeasterly direction by way of Cracow towards the heart of Germany. Railways are scarce in that part of the world, and the advance cannot be rapid.

The northern Russian army, operating from Vilna, has crossed the German frontier, and claims to have defeated the first line of the German army and to have overrun East Prussia to the Vistula. It is a territory nearly as large as that occupied by the Germans in Belgium, but from a strategic point of view of even more doubtful value.

THE SECOND STAGE OF THE WAR

How long the preliminary maneuvering of the immense armies now in the field will last it is impossible to forecast. But sooner or later the second stage of the war will come—it will consist of sieges.

Geographical frontiers have little significance in military matters. For soldiers to pass a row of sign-posts does not mean much. But back of almost every political frontier in Europe there is a line of fortified defenses. In war these are the only frontiers that count.

The dividing line between France and Germany, for instance, is hardly more real than the equator. The military frontier of Germany is along the Rhine. Military France begins with the line of forts from Belfort to Verdun. The strip of land between is a

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skirmishing ground. The Germans have crossed the geographical frontier in the neighborhood of Nancy. The French are on German territory in Alsace. But from the military view-point neither country has yet been "entered."

A glance at the map which we publish in this issue shows the difference between the political and military frontiers of eastern Germany. The Russian army is on German soil, but it has not really entered Germany until it has crossed the line made by the fortresses of Danzig, Dirschau, Gradenz, and Thorn. Before the central Russian army, operating from Warsaw, can threaten Berlin, it must break through the defenses—hardly less strong—of Thorn, Posen, and Glogau. A Russian advance from the south through Austria will have to deal with Neisse and Glatz.

Siege operations have become increasingly important in modern warfare. The most serious resistance made by the Russians in the Japanese War was from behind the walls of Port Arthur. And the Russian General Stoessel was court-martialed for surrendering prematurely. In the Balkans the allies easily defeated the Turks whenever they encountered them in the open. Adrianople, Janina, and Scutari held out for months, and were finally taken at immense cost. The lines of Tchatalja successfully defended Constantinople. But none of these fortifications could compare with the strongholds of central Europe which must be reduced.

Namur and Huy are the only cases of modern fortifications being captured in a short time; and no details of their fall have yet reached us. As we go to press the fate of Liège is uncertain, but at least it held out for three weeks. The consensus of opinion is that Germany is better equipped with siege artillery than are the other belligerents. The speed with which Huy and Namur were reduced adds weight to this belief.

By the end of the third week, Belgium is the only country involved whose military frontiers have been passed.

THE FAR EAST

Japan also has a siege on her hands. The German fortifications in China are not nearly as strong as some in Europe, but Japan is reported to have sent 50,000 men against a garrison of less than 5,000. Japan is the only one of the belligerents that has faced the problem of besieging modern fortifications. Her experience before Port Arthur should be of great value.

PUBLIC OPINION

The most interesting development of the week for those who believe in the People's Rule is the publication of the British and German "White Papers," containing the diplomatic correspondence which led up to this crisis and the speeches by the King, the Kaiser, the Czar, and President Poincaré, and their Prime Ministers—all with the evident intent of persuading the world that this is a defensive war. Neither the French President nor the German Kaiser can go to war without persuading his nation that it is a righteous cause.

History does not give us any evidence that Alexander or Hannibal or Cæsar wasted any effort persuading their people that their campaigns were justified. Louis XIV, who could say "*L'état, c'est moi*," did not need to find an ethical basis for his wars of aggression. Napoleon was wont to start a campaign without telling the French people who was the enemy.

One of the first cases of a government definitely taking consideration of public opinion before going to war was when Bismarck in 1870 altered the famous Ems telegram so that the Germans would believe that they were attacked.

In this present crisis every Government has felt it necessary to be backed by a united public opinion. Whether the German, the Russian, the Austrian, and the English Governments have been frank in their efforts to convince their people that they were attacked does not matter. All of them have succeeded. There are very few soldiers in Europe who consider themselves aggressors; all with equal devotion are fighting—or think they are fighting—to defend their countries from attack.

The important thing is that even the Czar has felt it necessary to persuade his people that his cause is just. No king in Europe dares to call out his army in a frankly aggressive war.

New York, August 26.

Other articles in this issue dealing with the war are: "England in Time of War" (editorial correspondence from Mr. Ernest Hamlin Abbott); "The Germans and the War" (two articles, by Mr. Frederic William Wile, of the London "Mail," and

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Professor Parmelee, of the College of the City of New York); "War Issues in Russia and the Far East," by George Kennan; "An American Woman Flees from Paris;" "The Outlook Readers' View of the War" (extracts from many letters); "War Notes;" and the editorials, "Fighting for the Mastery," "1870–1914," and "Why?" We shall print next week the best statement which we have seen in defense of the righteousness of the German cause. It is by an American, formerly a student in a German university, now actively engaged in the International Student movement, and a sincere sympathizer with German culture and the German people. He was in Germany at the outbreak of the war, and sends from London his defense of the German spirit at our request.—THE EDITORS.

THE WEEK

A CHANGE OF DATE IN PUBLICATION

Beginning with this issue the date of publication of The Outlook will hereafter be Wednesday instead of Saturday. This change is made to facilitate the work of going to press with the latest possible news of the war.

GERMAN SUPREMACY: IN AGRICULTURE

The August number of the "Navy" contains a paper by Mr. Frank A. Scott, an influential industrialist of Cleveland, Ohio, on the industrial progress of the German Empire since the Franco-Prussian War. It was written and published before the present European war broke out, but it has nevertheless a war significance because it shows in a very clear way the industrial domination and prosperity which Germany has risked destroying for the sake of pursuing military domination. The area of Germany, Mr. Scott points out, with its 208,000 square miles, is about equal to Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. She has an average population of 311 to the square mile. The United States has a population of 32 to the square mile. The result of this intensive population is that Germany has applied her wonderful scientific research to the problem of intensive cultivation. In the thirty-two years between 1881 and 1913, Germany increased her production per acre of wheat eighty-six per cent, of rye seventy-five per cent, of oats eighty-one per cent, of potatoes forty-seven per cent. On the other hand, the production per acre of these food essentials in the United States remained practically stationary. This is partially explained by the steady bringing into the agricultural field of undeveloped lands in this country. Mr. Scott readily admits that in the United States such intensive cultivation as is recorded by these German statistics is at present impossible in the United States; "but," he adds, "the German figures are interesting to us as showing what can be done by a diligent nation on a naturally poor soil in a rigorous climate."

GERMAN SUPREMACY: IN COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

It is not merely in agriculture that Germany has made wonderful strides by applying the researches of the scientific laboratory to the daily work of commercial production. In the production of pig iron Germany to-day stands second in the civilized world, with an output of seventeen million tons. Her native ore is poor, and yet by scientific methods she produces one-fourth of the total pig iron of the world, surpassing England by over fifty per cent annually. This extraordinary production is largely aided by a chemical process which dephosphorizes the ore, and the phosphate by-product is used as an agricultural fertilizer. By the application of science to industry Germany has not only increased her domestic welfare, but has enormously added to her foreign trade. In twenty-five years her foreign trade has increased one hundred and eighty-five per cent.

The highest on her list, the product in which she has advanced most, from 1883 to 1912, is machinery of all kinds. The value in marks in 1887 of machinery exported was 52,800,000 marks; in 1912 it had risen to 630,300,000 marks. Coarse and fine iron goods rose from 96,000,000 marks in 1887 to 581,000,000 in 1912. Coal—now think of it—coal from that small country, from 79,900,000 marks to 436,600,000 marks in 1912. Coke, in 1887, 9,000,000; in 1912, 126,000,000. Cotton, wool, and silk, from 261,000,000

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in 1887 to 966,000,000 in 1912. These figures explain to all of us who have been in countries where we seek foreign markets why we find the German there, and we do find the German there, and he is there very strongly intrenched, and he deserves it.

To promote her foreign trade, Germany employs not only scientific methods of manufacturing, but intelligence in selling. She is willing to meet the wishes of a customer; she quickly adopts new and approved methods of reaching new markets; she is interested in every question, historical, ethnological, philosophical, and financial, that pertains to economic life and development. "I am sure," says Mr. Scott, "that any American who has been in the Far East, or in South America, or in Mexico, or in any of the great countries where German competition is now becoming very strong, will agree that in shipping facilities, in banking facilities, in social touch with the customers, Germany is rapidly becoming the leader." This industrial supremacy has developed, not by the military power of the German Government, but by the energy and intelligence of the German people. They must inevitably, we think, begin to realize as the war goes on that they have thrown away a very real and constructive leadership in exchange for a chimerical and destructive ambition.

NEW YORK STATE POLITICS

The hope of fusion in New York State between Progressives and Independent Republicans for the purpose of eliminating both Mr. Barnes and Mr. Murphy from the control of the State Government has been largely dissipated. As The Outlook recorded in its issue of August 8, a proposition which had the support of Mr. Roosevelt was put forward looking towards the nomination at the primaries of a fusion anti-machine ticket similar in purpose and kind to that which recently redeemed New York City from Tammany. Under this plan Progressive leaders stood ready to advocate the nomination of ex-State Senator Hinman on both the Progressive and the Republican ticket. Senator Hinman, who is a Republican, was not asked in any way to desert his party, save that he should declare himself opposed to the bi-partisan machine that has for so long hung like a millstone upon the Government of New York State. Naturally, this exception, if sincerely agreed upon, made it impossible for Mr. Hinman to lend his aid, if defeated at the Republican primaries, to any candidate who had the support of William Barnes. In the understanding of the Progressive leaders, who agreed to advocate Mr. Hinman's nomination in the Progressive primaries, Mr. Hinman stood ready to make the fight for Governorship on this platform.

Fusion for good government did not, however, become an assured fact. The Republican State Convention, held for the purpose of adopting a party platform, intervened. At this Convention, while no successful attempt was made to place the party leaders on record as in favor of the nomination of any particular candidate at the primaries, it was very clearly demonstrated that the Convention was under the direct control of the reactionary element. Committee meetings were held behind closed doors. No effective effort was made to overthrow or even to qualify the control of the party in New York State by Mr. Barnes. With this obvious fact before him, Mr. Hinman, while professing allegiance to the anti-boss issue, declared in a signed statement that "even if not nominated in the Republican primaries, I shall not by word or act leave my party either before or after the September primaries nor ask support for any nominee of any other party."

With this statement in view, it became impossible for the Progressives to lend their aid to a candidate who had openly declined to fight against the Republican nominated, even should this man be a direct and admitted subordinate of Mr. Barnes himself. Furthermore, the State Primary Law makes it obligatory upon any candidate nominated at the primary to stand for the office for which he has been nominated by popular vote. If the Progressive party had continued to support Mr. Hinman, it might have found itself going before the people with a candidate who declined not only to make a canvass on his own behalf but who stood openly in support of a candidate and of that element in the Republican party fundamentally at variance with Progressive principles.

At the time of writing it seems probable that the Progressive party will put in the field a straight Progressive ticket. The candidates for Governorship on this ticket now most prominently before the party are Mr. Chauncey J. Hamlin, of Buffalo, Mr. William H. Hotchkiss, and ex-State Senator Frederick

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M. Davenport. The only hope of a State fusion which remains lies in the chance that the Mitchel and Wilson Democrats will revolt against their own party machine, and that a Democrat of known ability and independence in State politics will be brought forward acceptable to the Progressives. The time for such an eventuality is, however, brief, and the possibility of its achievement remote.

THE PALMER-OWEN CHILD LABOR BILL

Recently the Palmer-Owen Child Labor Bill, which seeks to stamp out some of the worst forms of child labor by preventing the shipment in inter-State commerce of products manufactured in whole or in part by the labor of children, was reported from the House Committee on Labor with amendments added by the Committee. The Outlook believes that the measure is an excellent one and should be passed.

Briefly, the bill forbids the shipment in inter-State commerce of the products of any mine or quarry which have been produced in whole or in part by the labor of children under the age of sixteen, or the output of any mill, cannery, factory, or manufacturing establishment produced wholly or in part by children under fourteen, or by children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen working more than eight hours a day or six days a week, or after seven o'clock in the evening or before seven o'clock in the morning.

This bill is not so "drastic" as some of its opponents would have us believe. The first of the above provisions is already in force in fifteen States; the second in forty States, the District of Columbia, and Porto Rico; the third—the eight-hour-day clause, considered the most radical part of the bill—is already on the statute-books of eighteen States and the District of Columbia; while night work for children under sixteen is forbidden in thirty-three States, the District of Columbia, and Porto Rico.

Such a law as this is needed because, as the National Child Labor Committee says: "After ten years' experience we have reached the conclusion that it is almost impossible to secure uniform and effective laws in the different States. This difficulty arises from the fact that every proposal to enact an effective State law is opposed by the industries that would be affected on the ground that such a law would handicap them in competition with other States." In other words, State boundaries are impediments in dealing with child labor, as in dealing with divorce, prostitution, the liquor traffic, and the drug evil.

The most serious opposition to the bill comes from those who profess to consider it unconstitutional as violating the rights of individual States. The answer to these objectors is that the measure does not undertake to dictate under what conditions children shall be employed in any State, but does undertake to protect sister States, *i. e.*, the National domain, against the folly of any of its parts. In this respect the backers of the bill only ask Congress to extend to child labor the principle it has already applied to the liquor trade and to the white slave traffic.

A COUNTRY CREED AND A COUNTRY HOLIDAY

1. You have got to make the country as attractive socially as the city if you want to keep the young folks on the farms.

2. There's a good deal of work in the country, but most of our boys and girls have forgotten how to play.

3. Baseball is a splendid game, but it isn't the only one. Every healthy boy should be interested in at least half a dozen others. Don't merely watch others play games; play them yourself!

4. You can't drink strong drink and be an athlete. Get your boys interested in honest and healthy sports, and save them from drink and dissipation.

5. Contests and competitions are not the main thing. "The strong compete and grow stronger; the weak look on and grow weaker." The main thing is *play*. Learn the great lesson that play is just as necessary for your sons as work.

6. The community should help to run its own recreations. Its festivals should be not only *for* the people, but *of* and *by* the people.

This is the creed for which the name of the little town of Amenia, New York, has come to stand. The wide publicity that has already been given to this brief statement of a rural ideal is directly attributable to the fact that Amenia has attempted to practice what it preaches. As The Outlook recorded a year ago, there is held each August in this Dutchess County village a festival which was originally defined as an "experiment in co-operative recreation." The spirit of this festival is as far removed from the old-time county fair as it is possible to imagine. It is a people's festival, where the people themselves are the chief attraction. A very large

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proportion of the farmers and their friends who attend this gathering go, not to look on, but to take active part in the sports of this community "play bee."

For the past five years this Amenia festival has been held in a level meadow on the farm of Professor Joel E. Spingarn. It has attracted visitors each year numbered not by hundreds but by thousands. Amateur baseball, foot races, trap-shooting, pageants, speeches by leaders in State and National life, agricultural demonstrations and exhibits, a horse show at which the steady and practical farm horses of the neighboring region contend for ribbons quite as blue and as red as those won by their aristocratic cousins in Madison Square, all these have at various times appeared upon the programme. Fakers, gamblers, card-sharps, and liquor-sellers, who in the past have not infrequently infested large country gatherings, have been, and for all time will be, barred from this Amenia gathering. May the Amenia idea spread!

There is a place in the life of every township for such a festival. Successfully carried out, it means a long step towards the ultimate triumph, not of the "back to the land" movement perhaps, but, what is vastly more important, the "stay on the land" movement—that movement which looks toward the retention in the country of those who can find their best opportunity for service and for individual development among the difficulties, the trials, and the vital triumphs of country life.

"THE TWILIGHT SLEEP"

The use of scopolamine in connection with morphine as an anæsthetic in childbirth is not new; it has been known for about twelve years. Recent publication of magazine articles about the "twilight sleep," and especially as it has been practiced at Freiburg, Germany, by Dr. Kroenig and Dr. Karl Gauss, has aroused extraordinary interest in the subject. It is claimed that scopolamine is superior to chloroform or ether, which have long been employed in difficult cases, in that scopolamine induces an unconsciousness like that of sleep and the patient "awakes" without consciousness of pain—although some physicians say that what happens is that the drug renders the *mind* unconscious so that no *recollection* of the pain actually felt exists. One investigator says that the "twilight sleep" is really "a subconscious condition in which the patient considers herself absolutely sound asleep and unconscious, when she is in reality in a hypnotic condition, entirely susceptible to suggestions from the doctor."

Is the new method safe? On this point there is a difference of opinion among medical authorities. We notice a tendency among advocates of the system to argue (as was done in the Friedmann matter) that doctors are temperamentally opposed to medical discoveries—a totally false generalization, as all will say who remember how the discoveries of Koch and Pasteur and others have been applied. It is right that new medical methods should be thoroughly tested before they are heralded as near-miracles; and testing is a matter of special skill and often requires a long time. It is well to be on guard against too ready acceptance of such discoveries lest incalculable harm be done and hopes cruelly disappointed.

The "Ladies' Home Journal" is to be praised, therefore, for accompanying an exceedingly interesting article on the treatment at Freiburg, which includes interviews with American mothers who have undergone the "twilight sleep," by expressions of opinion from five eminent physicians. Their joint verdict is not favorable. Dr. Vaughan, President of the American Medical Association, says: "Up to the present time the profession is not convinced that this drug, either alone or combined with morphine, is free from danger either to mother or child, or both." Dr. Green, Professor of Obstetrics at Harvard, says he has tried and abandoned the method as uncertain, sometimes dangerous, and inferior to other measures for the relief of pain. Dr. Williams, of Johns Hopkins, has tried the method without satisfactory results, but proposes to give it further trial. Dr. Hirst, of the University of Pennsylvania, believes that as first used it was dangerous, that as now used it is partly psychological. Dr. De Lee, of the Northwestern University, studied the method at Freiburg and formed decidedly unfavorable impressions, adding that he found that the famous maternities of Berlin, Vienna, Munich, and Heidelberg had tried and discarded the plan. On the other hand, newspapers state that the Jewish Maternity Hospital of New York has tried scopolamine in one hundred and twenty-five cases with great success and proposes to extend the treatment.

In view of all these facts, it seems only right to caution the general public against reaching final conclusions hastily, and espe-

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cially to caution any would-be patient against acting without the best possible medical advice from an unprejudiced physician.

CHECKING THE TENEMENT INVASION IN NEW YORK CITY

For many years New York City has been the great, compelling example of how to build a city wrong, and its misdeeds have been faithfully imitated by cities, towns, and villages from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Because Broadway is too narrow for trees, villages on Long Island and towns in Michigan have chopped down the trees that made their business streets presentable. Because New York permitted sky-scrapers to turn the narrow streets of its financial district into canyons, every ambitious city in the country refuses to be content until it too has sky-scrapers. Because New York packs a large proportion of its people into tenement and apartment houses, the socially elect of prairie towns believe that to live in a multiple dwelling, especially if it boasts an elevator and a darky in brass buttons, is a patent to distinction. For, above all things and at no matter what cost, we Americans must be metropolitan.

Occasionally New York returns the compliment and adopts something that another city has originated, thanks to those citizens who are able to do their own thinking. Some years after Cleveland had proved the value of a high-pressure water system for fire-fighting New York took it over, and is now considering a still further extension of this conflagration preventive. After Chicago had proved the practicability of steel-frame construction New York took it up and is still piling story on story, while Chicago, the originator, has for years been limiting by law the size of its Frankenstein monsters. Later a few of the progressive cities began to district themselves in order to protect their residence sections. Now New York has this also under consideration.

If New York really carries to a definite conclusion the preliminary recommendations of its first Commission on the Heights of Buildings, and so makes them fashionable, it will go a long way toward undoing the harm it has done in the past to American civic planning. The report of this Commission shows in no uncertain language how the crowding of tall buildings has injured the community, injured life and health, depreciated property values, handicapped business, increased costs, and put unnecessary burdens on the taxpayers. In conclusion, it makes recommendations designed to save the outlying sections of the city from ever developing the evils with which the older sections are permanently afflicted. That is, it wishes to keep the unspoiled parts of the metropolis as much as possible like the smaller cities which, in spite of all their strivings, have as yet been unable to make themselves as bad as New York.

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

The city dwelling-house that is to approximate the ideal must be near the ground, so that the members of the family, especially the children, may be out of doors without being out of touch with the home. The tall tenements of Manhattan, whose inhabitants must either stay within the narrow limits of their little rooms or else lose themselves in the crowded streets, are the antithesis of suitable dwellings for families. In the past the community has been powerless to prevent the erection of such barracks even on its farthermost edges. One law has applied to every section of the city, the packed East Side and the sparsely settled outskirts of Queens Borough. And as a result of this lack of power to control the housing situation rows of tall tenements are invading open fields miles away from the City Hall. The Borough of the Bronx, which a few years ago was open country, is now almost as solidly filled with six-story tenements as are the newer sections of Manhattan; Brownsville, in Brooklyn, is duplicating all that has been deprecated on Hester and Rivington Streets. This invasion of the tenement is graphically shown by illustrations in this week's picture section.

The proposals of its first Heights of Buildings Commission offered New York the hope that this devastating march might be stopped and the yet unspoiled sections of the city saved for individual homes. These proposals have been made the basis of a law enacted by the Legislature at its recent session—a law which will doubtless have to stand a test as to its constitutionality in the courts—giving the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City the required power to carry them into effect.

The Board of Estimate and Apportionment has now delegated the duty of determining how this power can best be exercised to a second City Planning Commission. This Commission has a twofold work before it—to devise a method of restricting the height of buildings,

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with different heights in different districts, and of restricting industry and commerce to certain specified localities to be determined upon by careful investigation. The individual districts will doubtless be of many shapes and sizes, according to the topography and the transportation facilities and the present use of the various sections of New York City. This means a tremendous amount of detail work and of exhaustive study.

If New York carries this gigantic task successfully into effect, we may hope that many other cities will follow suit, and do not only what Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and a few other pioneers have already done—permit the residents of certain favored sections to declare these sections residence districts from which factories and other undesirable types of buildings are barred—but adopt a systematic districting plan for their entire area which will protect business interests, safeguard homes, and promote the welfare of the whole community.

"LOOK OUT FOR ARMY-WORM MOTHS WITH ONE COLORED WING!"

That is the request which the Department of Agriculture is sending out to every one interested in the destruction of the army-worm pest which this summer has ravaged the crops and lawns of the northern United States east of the Mississippi with considerable thoroughness. If you see a moth with one red or one violet wing, however, don't be unnecessarily alarmed, for the badge is not a sign of unusual viciousness, but merely indicates that the moth wearing it has previously been handled by a Government entomologist, who stained the wing in order that the movements of its owner about the country might be traced and the farmers thus have a better knowledge of the habits of the pest and be better enabled to help the Department in controlling the spread of the pernicious insect.

If in your evening walk you meet a moth with a red wing, you will know that it hails from Portsmouth, Virginia; if the stain is black or yellow, you can rest assured that the creature has visited Charlottesville, Virginia; while if a moth bearing a violet flag to starboard or port interrupts your reading of the evening paper by fluttering against the chimney of your lamp, rest assured that the visitor has passed through Hagerstown, Maryland. For in those three towns the Department's moth decorators are stationed.

The Department of Agriculture, which has taken pains to let no moths loose where their liberation could possibly add to the natural damage of the pest, believes that with the better knowledge of the habits of the insect to be gained from this experiment it will be possible more completely to control the spread of the nuisance in the future. However, it is worth while knowing now that a mixture of one pound of paris green, fifty pounds of wheat bran, and the juice of half a dozen oranges mixed to a stiff dough and spread about an infested field is very efficacious in destroying the worms which hatch from the eggs of the moths. Clean cultivation, the rotation of crops, the cleaning up of fence corners, and the burning over of waste grass land in the spring or fall serve to prevent a recurrence of the army-worm. Against immediate invasion from uncared-for pasture lands farmers have at times been forced to guard their cultivated fields by actual intrenchments. A furrow is made with a plow between the plot to be protected and the line of attack. Into this furrow the army-worms fall as did the cavalry at the sunken road of Waterloo, and may then be crushed to death or burned up with kerosene according to taste.

BIRTH RATES, WAR, AND CIVILIZATION

The Berlin correspondent of the "Medical Record" tells us that before war furnished an all-engrossing topic of conversation for Germans there were few subjects discussed with as much interest in the Fatherland as the recent rapid diminution in the birth rate. At a meeting of the German Public Health Society a few weeks before the beginning of hostilities Krohne, who is an authority on such matters, pointed out that since 1876, when a high-water birth rate of 40.9 per thousand was reached, there had been a steady decline to 28.2 per thousand in 1912. In the cities and among the laboring classes, as well as in the country districts and among the higher classes, the number of births had decreased. Since there had been no falling off in the marriage rate and no increase in venereal disease, the conclusion was that the diminution had been the result of deliberate intention on the part of individuals because of the increasing expense of bringing up children and because of the fact that the child becomes productive much later now than formerly.

In some American medical circles the

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opinion has been put forward that the diminishing birth rate was a potent factor in deciding the Kaiser to strike now rather than a few years later. However this may be, it is certain that the immediate effect of the war will be to make the birth rates of the warring countries lower than ever. History shows that when a country goes to war, its birth rate drops off almost immediately and does not return to normal for several years after peace is established.

Germany, however, is not the only country in which parenthood has become scarcer recently—the same tendency to some extent is found in every civilized country. In the large cities this tendency is particularly marked—in fact, New York is almost the only large city in which there are more babies born to every thousand persons now than there were thirty years ago. The following table, with the approximate birth rates of New York, London, Berlin, Paris, and Brussels in 1880 and in 1912, is interesting:

	1880.	1912.
Berlin	40	20.4
London	35.2	23.5
Paris	25.5	16.7
Brussels	32.5	16.2
New York	23	26.2

It will be noticed that of the five cities the greatest decrease was in Brussels and Berlin, while New York was the only one to gain.

While birth rates have almost universally dropped in civilized countries, it must be remembered that there has been a general decline in death rates also.

MAIL SERVICE IN CHINA

Among the many difficulties which face the establishment of popular government in China is the absence of a common language and of means of rapid and complete communication of news. There are probably hundreds of thousands of Chinese who do not yet know that the Manchu dynasty has fallen. The report in the New York "Tribune" of an official of the Chinese postal service recently in this country is therefore very significant.

After calling attention to the fact, known to every one who knows anything about China, that the people are supremely interested in work and that as long as they can work under proper conditions they care nothing about politics, and that they want to be let alone, to be at peace among themselves and with the whole world, this official said that ten years ago the postal service of China, organized as a part of the customs service under that very able administrator Sir Robert Hart, handled about ten million pieces of small mail per annum; at present it handles about six hundred million pieces. It is international in scope; its officials represent eight or ten different nations; wherever railways go the mails are carried by trains, but many thousand miles are covered by couriers on foot or horseback, or by any other means of conveyance. In many places the service is not only up to the standard of service in American cities, but is superior to it. In the city of Peking there are twelve deliveries a day. Letters are carried everywhere within the country for one cent. The parcels post and money order systems are in successful operation all over China. The special delivery letter service is especially efficient. Mail marked "express letter service" is placed in special bags as soon as it is deposited. These bags often contain only two or three letters. They are taken out by couriers in waiting, who, mounted on bicycles, go at full speed to the address, deliver the letter, and wait to receive an answer. This service is confined to large towns, and the cost of sending such a letter is five cents.

It will be a long time, despite the progress made, before the great mass of people who speak the various dialects get into close communication with one another and the mind of the vast population of the republic is accessible to ideas and responsive to them.

A NEW USE FOR TRIAL BY "JOINT BOARD"

Whether or not government is by "the consent of the governed" is the acid test for democracy among peoples. The more "consent" there is on the part of employees in relations between employer and employed, the less of autocracy there is in that relation also; and, generally speaking, the more efficient will be the service rendered. Mr. Marcus M. Marks, President of the Borough of Manhattan in the City of New York, has recently inaugurated in the government of that borough a system of trial for accused employees by joint boards of employers and fellows of the accused which marks a new advance in democracy.

When a man who works for the Borough of Manhattan is brought up for trial on charges, his case is heard by a board consisting of two officials of the borough and two

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employees of the same department as the accused. The result is that the man under charges has a fuller opportunity to state his case than he would if his interests were not safeguarded by his fellows, and he feels more inclined to bow with a good grace before whatever punishment is meted out to him than he would if he were not represented on the joint board of judges. The findings of these boards, although only advisory, are usually followed by the department heads.

It has been found that the workingmen called to serve as judges have not been swayed in their findings by class prejudice, and the discipline and *esprit de corps* of the men working for the borough has been improved owing to the fact that after trial the men carry back to their fellows the story of an absolute "square deal."

A SCHOOL FOR SALESGIRLS

Practice in choral singing and indoor baseball may not seem to be essential to skill in disposing of lingerie behind a sales-counter in a large department store, but the management of Lord & Taylor's new store in New York and the directors of the Department Store Education Association have included these two specialties with other branches of physical training as part of the curriculum in the new school of salesmanship just opened in the New York store.

This is not the first attempt to teach individual salesgirls how to sell their own specialty, but it is the most successful effort on record to teach the girl her function in relation to the whole store, to make each cog understand its relation to the whole wheel; in short, to organize a department store like a baseball team, each unit having its particular function, but being ready in emergencies to perform the function of some other unit.

The school is the result of the effort of three New York women: Mrs. Henry Ollesheimer, Miss Virginia Potter, and Miss Anne Morgan. It has already made good in the Lord & Taylor store, and will doubtless be adopted by many others. The reason that baseball and choral singing are practiced during the forty-five-minute period at the beginning of the day is that the physical well-being of the salesgirl is essential to good salesmanship. Other subjects taught are the psychology of selling, fashion study, store system, etc.

The girls are divided into groups, each group going to school four times every three weeks. They look forward with pleasure to these study periods, during which they are receiving full pay, by the way, and they are just as much interested in learning matters relating directly to their daily work—as, for instance, that the first slit skirt was decreed by Lycurgus—as they are in mastering the intricacies of batting and catching in the gymnasium during the play period.

While in this way the human side of the girls is reached and their interest aroused in their work, at the same time their efficiency is carefully studied so that each girl may get credit on the pay-roll for her own work. Instead of the unfair and unpopular "percentage system," the girls are paid on a graded weekly salary basis, and when it is necessary to reduce expenses, instead of immediately lopping off salaries the plan will be to look for possible leakages and wastes. In the short time it has been in operation the school of salesmanship has won the approval of the girls, while it has demonstrated to all store managers that scientific education of employees pays in dollars and cents as well as in the increased contentedness of employees.

FIGHTING FOR THE MASTERY

The defense offered for the war is thus expressed by a German supporter:

> This war had to come. Everybody in Europe has known it for years. Sooner or later it had to be decided which was to be master in Europe, the West or the East. The West—that means Germany, France, England, and Italy. The East—Russia.[1]

It is because France and England refused to join Germany and Austria in war against Russia that Germany is peculiarly incensed against France and England.

Why must either West or East be master in Europe? Why must either the Teuton or the Slav dominate?

In the eighteenth century Roman Catholicism and Protestantism fought to determine which should dominate Europe. In England the Puritans and the Episcopalians fought to determine which should dominate England. To-day neither Roman Catholicism nor Protestantism dominates Europe; neither

[1] Dr. Hanns Heinz Ewers, born in Düsseldorf, on the Rhine, is said to be one of the most celebrated authors of the day. His article in "The Fatherland," an American weekly published for the purpose of defending Germany and Austria, begins with the sentence quoted above.

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Puritanism nor Episcopalianism dominates England. The Roman Catholic Church is better because it has a Protestant neighbor. The Protestant Church is better because it has a Roman Catholic neighbor. Nowhere are Protestantism and Roman Catholicism more efficient religious forces than in America, where neither attempts to dominate.

In the eighteenth century France and England fought to determine which should be master on this continent. England won, only to lose her mastery in half the continent through the American Revolution, and to divide her mastery with France in the other half. It is true that Canada is an English dependency. But it is also true that in Canada the English do not dominate and do not try to dominate the French. The two races live in peace and friendship, each learning from the other. English Canada has had a French Premier. In Quebec a French-Canadian solution of the school question is adopted. In Manitoba an English-Canadian solution of the school question is adopted.

The United States is occupied by a heterogeneous population in which all races live peaceably together. Politically the Irish have dominated New York City; the Germans have dominated Wisconsin. But the Anglo-Saxons have not fought with the Celts in New York nor the native Americans with the Germans in Wisconsin. The Anglo-Saxons have learned something from the Irish and the Irish something from the Anglo-Saxons. The native Americans have learned something from the Germans and the Germans something from the native Americans. All races live peaceably together because each race recognizes and respects the good qualities of its neighbor, and there is a free commerce in ideas as well as in goods.

We Americans repudiate absolutely this idea that either the East or the West, either the Slav or the Teuton, must dominate Europe, as we absolutely repudiate the idea that either the East or the West, either Slav, German, or Celt, must dominate America. Once the South attempted to dominate, and a terrible war resulted. Then, for a little time, the North attempted to dominate, and a disastrous political anarchy resulted in the South. Now neither North nor South attempts to dominate. The whole country recognizes the truth that the interests of North and South, of East and West, are one. At one time, in America, the white race dominated the colored race. The result, slavery, was equally disastrous to both races. Then, in the reconstruction period, the colored race dominated the white race. The result, political corruption, was equally disastrous to both races. Now the constitutions of the six most progressive Southern States provide that intelligence and thrift shall dominate ignorance and idleness. And where this solution is honestly accepted and honorably lived up to, peace and prosperity follow.

We do not deny the right of a nation to exclude from its territory a foreign and inharmonious race. We affirm that right. Austria may forbid the migration of Slavs to her Empire. But it is one thing for a nation to exclude from her territory a foreign and inharmonious race; it is quite another thing for one race in a nation to demand the right to dominate another race in the same nation, or one nation to demand the right to dominate other nations in the family of nations.

Russia wants free access to the Mediterranean. She needs it and ought to have it. But that does not give her a right to wrest Constantinople from Turkey. Austria wants free access to the Ægean. She needs it and ought to have it. But that does not give her a right to annex Servia. Canada wants free access, winter and summer, to the Atlantic Ocean. She needs it and ought to have it. But she does not make war on the United States and seek to annex Maine. She would not if she had the power. She builds a railway to Portland, and enjoys the same access to that port that is enjoyed by the citizens of Maine.

Political domination is not necessary for commercial extension. To suppose that one nation or one race must dominate Europe in order to secure peace and order in Europe is to assume that international law is nothing but an application to international affairs of the law of the jungle.

Europe will not win peace by the domination of East over West or West over East, of Slav over Teuton or Teuton over Slav. It will win peace only when the various European races respect each other, recognize the truth that each race can learn from the neighboring races, and all the peoples—Russian, German, Austrian, Servian, Belgian, English, French—realize that they possess a common interest in the success of Europe overwhelmingly greater than any possible gain in the domination of one people over another.

It is the attempt of Russia to dominate

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the Finn and the Jew that has created Russian revolution; the attempt of Austria to dominate the Croatian and the Slav that has constantly threatened her national integrity; it is now the acknowledged attempt of the Germanic peoples to dominate Europe that has plunged Europe into this awful war.

The mastery of the world must be won peaceably by ideas, not forcibly by the cannon and the bayonet. The cannon and the bayonet have sometimes their use. They are sometimes necessary to preserve order, that ideas may have a chance for expression. They never can alone establish a true supremacy. The German lion did not promote his national health by swallowing the Alsatian lamb. All he got was an attack of political indigestion. Supremacy is produced by intelligence, not by force of arms; by commerce in ideas, not by conflicts with cannon. In the hand that holds the plow rather than in the hand that holds the certificate of paper sovereignty will be vested the control of this world.

One month ago Germany was a great world leader. Her educational system had been borrowed by all democratic communities, with modifications, adapting it to their several conditions. Her industrial activities had stimulated ingenuity in every nation with which she had commercial relations. Her commercial fleets were carrying her influence to every part of the habitable globe. She had the respect and the admiration of all peoples. That she aroused the jealousy of some was an almost unavoidable incident of her wisely directed energies. She has dealt a blow to her commerce from which it will take her a long time to recover. She has embittered the hostility of some nations, and brought upon herself by her course the almost universal condemnation of the neutral peoples. In appealing to the cannon to make her master in Europe she has thrown away the world leadership which her schools, her industry, and her commerce were giving to her.

Americans have a great admiration for the Germany of scholarship—the Germany of Kant, Hegel, and Eucken; for the Germany of music—the Germany of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Wagner; for the Germany of literature—the Germany of Heine, Schiller, and Goethe; for industrial Germany—for its vocational schools, for its manufactured products, for its splendid merchant marine.

But they dread the Germany of Bismarck and von Moltke. In the interests of civilization, to which Germany has made such splendid contributions, they desire the overthrow, not of Germany, but of militarism in Germany.

1870–1914

The Outlook believes that fundamentally the European conflagration is a war of military monarchism against liberalism. In support of this conclusion a brief quotation from Busch's "Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of His History," may be of interest and value to our readers. Moritz Busch, acting as Bismarck's secretary and authorized biographer, describes in the following passage from his diary an interview between Prince Luitpold of Bavaria and the Iron Chancellor. At the time at which Dr. Busch was writing, September 12, 1870, Bismarck had apparently little thought to waste upon that Slavic peril and *uncultur* against which Germany has now assumed the right to raise the banner of civilization. The purpose and subject of this interview between the Prince and the Chancellor Dr. Busch describes and paraphrases as follows:

I have reason to believe that this interview was the beginning of negotiations (which were several times interrupted) between the Chancellor of the Confederation and the Emperors of Austria and Russia, which gradually led to an understanding, and finally resulted in the so-called "*Drei Kaiser Bündniss*," or Three Emperors' Alliance. The object of these "historical and political statements" was to induce Prince Luitpold to write a letter to his brother-in-law, the Archduke Albrecht, submitting certain views to the personal consideration of the Emperor Francis Joseph. . . . They were as follows: The turn which events have taken in Paris renders it possible to regard the present war between Germany and France as a defense of monarchical conservative principles against the republican and socialistic tenets adopted by the present holders of power in France. The proclamation of the Republic in Paris has been welcomed with warm approval in Spain, and it is to be expected that it will obtain a like reception in Italy. In that circumstance lies the great danger for those European states that are governed on a monarchical system. The best security for the cause of order and civilization against this solidarity of the revolutionary and republican elements would be a closer union of those countries which, like Germany, Russia, and Austria, still afford a firm support to the monarchical principle. Austria,

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however, can only be included in such an understanding when it is recognized in that country that the attempts hitherto made in the Cisleithan half of the monarchy to introduce a liberal system are based on a mistaken policy, as are also the national experiments in a Polish direction.

The Czar is now aligned with republican France and democratic England, and has at least pledged his support to "a new national experiment in a Polish direction." Austria has satisfactorily purged herself, so far as Germany is concerned, of her mistaken sympathy for liberalism. Though the players have shifted sides, the conflict is the same.

WHY?

Many of our German-American citizens cannot understand why Americans sympathize with the Allies in a war between the most progressive and the most reactionary Empire on the European Continent. In this brief statement we tell them why.

Big Austria attacked little Servia. Without demanding an impartial investigation of Austria's charges against Servia, Germany allied herself with Austria. Germany's first mistake.

Sir Edward Grey made earnest efforts to secure the co-operation of Germany in an endeavor to obtain for Austria and Servia justice without war. Germany refused. Germany's second mistake.

Germany, England, and France had guaranteed, by sacred treaty, the neutrality of Belgium. Germany, in her plan of campaign, disregarded her pledge and asked Great Britain to disregard her pledge also. Germany's third mistake.

Americans do not believe in condemning an accused without giving him an impartial hearing. They do not believe in war without exhausting every endeavor to secure justice by peaceful measures. They do not believe in regarding a solemn treaty as a scrap of paper which may be discarded whenever it interferes with the interests of either of the parties to the treaty. If a nation can break its solemn obligations without penalty, there is an end to any international good relations.

The agitation for international arbitration —the substitution of the appeal to reason for the appeal to force—has led thousands of Americans to hope that henceforth treaties would require no other enforcement than the public sense of national honor. Germany's disregard of her treaty obligations by her invasion of Belgium has disappointed this hope.

CONCERNING CLOTHES

Mark Twain, who made fashions for himself, wore white flannel during the later years of his life, and, like every other man or woman who departs from the modes of the hour, was accused of self-advertising. There was method in his madness, however, as there often is in the seeming insanity of original people. Dark clothing, he explained, was depressing to him after passing his seventieth year, while lighter colors cheered him; he could not compel others to wear white, but he could wear it himself, and accordingly he wore it.

There is reason and also good sense in the conventions about dress that rest on good taste and a nice sense of propriety, which some "come-outers" discard, but which are a protection to privacy, to feeling, or to instinct.

The only reason for the uniformity of most of the clothes we wear, however, is the stimulation of business. We wear garments devised, not by artists, but by expert promoters of trade, and the fashions change every six months simply because the exigencies of business demand the discarding of the old in order that something new may be in demand. When one thinks of it, the general submission of society to the dictates of a group of irresponsible fashion-makers is one of the extraordinary facts about the Western peoples of to-day. Our ancestors had the idea that dress ought to be becoming, and that what was appropriate in one decade was appropriate in another; we have the idea that dress ought to be varied from year to year and that it ought to be standardized. The artist is brought in when it is a question of making a woman beautiful for a particular purpose or occasion; the rest of the time the tailor rules her with a rod of iron. An unfeeling man recently said that his heart would never be moved by the appeals of the "slaves" for freedom so long as they voluntarily wear skirts in which they cannot walk with comfort or run under any circumstances.

The obstacle in the way of individuality and freedom in dress is the publicity which any departure from the fashion of the moment entails on the innovator. The man who wears a coat of a past design, or a

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woman who devises a garment that follows the lines of the figure instead of the lines of the fashion-plate, is likely to be photographed by the newspapers and "written up" for those who think that gossip is news. And there are still people in the world who shrink from association in the public prints with murderers, "crooks," and the venders of quack remedies!

After many years of abstention from wearing collars, Jean Paul Richter posted a note on the official bulletin-board in Weimar announcing that, as he intended to oppose the world on essential matters, he would save his strength by conforming in non-essentials and henceforth wear a collar! The wearing of collars is in most cases a matter of good taste, and even when the question of taste is not involved and the collar is merely a convention, the people who dare omit it are few, and ought to be few; for the collar or its equivalent is a sign of civilization. The individuality which expresses itself in eccentricity of dress is not an adventure for freedom; it is either abnormal or it is a bid for notoriety. It is not a defiance of convention, but of good taste. Shabby clothes are sometimes cheap bids for popularity, and an evening coat is often more democratic than a negligée shirt.

There is plenty of sham democracy in the world, and hypocrisy in dress is one of its most popular forms. The man who wears working clothes as a means of winning the vote of every class of workers is a hypocrite of a very mean kind. The candidate for Governor in a State election who went from a dinner at a club to a meeting of workingmen and took off his evening coat and spoke in his "shirt sleeves" insulted his audience and lost the election. An evening coat is, in certain places and at certain times, as much a working dress as the dress of a man who plows or lays railway ties or carries a hod. A well-known public man who is noted for his skill in "keeping his ear to the ground" was traveling toward his home in clothes of a strictly orthodox fashion; as he neared his "district" he excused himself, retired to his stateroom, and presently reappeared in a negligée shirt, a loose coat minus a waistcoat, and a slouch hat. He had dressed for his part as a "man of the people." It is said in Italy that Radical deputies are often observed leaving Rome in first-class carriages; but when the train makes its last stop before reaching the town where the deputy is to be met by a delegation and welcomed as a defender of popular rights, he changes to a third-class carriage and becomes one of the people. An eloquent politician who is a noted "friend of the people" reproached a little group of men who had bravely announced their opposition to the platform of a popular candidate. He declared that they had needlessly jeopardized their popularity because the man could not be elected; and he laid down this fundamental principle for their future guidance: "Always give the people what they want if you are sure they can't get it." These men are sure in the end to be discovered and sent to the rear.

In dress, as in ways of living, honesty and sincerity are essential to good taste, and appropriateness for the occasion and a due regard for what is becoming and attractive are the evidences of self-respect and respect for others.

COMMERCE AND FINANCE

A WEEKLY ARTICLE BY THEODORE H. PRICE

A GREAT FINANCIAL EMERGENCY: HOW IT HAS BEEN MET

I HAVE been in Washington for four days in attendance upon a Conference called by the Secretary of the Treasury to consider ways and means of meeting the problem presented by interruption to the export of cotton, tobacco, naval stores, and the various agricultural products other than foodstuffs, through the sale of which under normal conditions our annual indebtedness abroad is paid. For the past four years the average annual balance of trade in favor of the United States has been about $550,000,000. During the same period the average annual value of the cotton and tobacco exports has been about $600,000,000. For the same time our net exports of gold and silver have averaged only $25,000,000 annually. These figures make it clear that

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it is in cotton and tobacco that we pay our debts to Europe, and that any depreciation in the value of these two great commodities means a corresponding impairment of our debt-paying power, the impoverishment of a large portion of our agricultural population, and widespread loss to the Nation.

Just how the emergency has been faced and met I shall endeavor to explain in detail in a subsequent article. It is sufficient for the present to say that it has been met, and met without any departure from what is considered conservative finance, and without any concession to the semi-Socialistic demand that the Government should follow the disastrous methods adopted by Brazil in "valorizing" coffee, and interpose the National credit to sustain the price of our more important agricultural products. Only those who have been in Washington upon such occasions as this can appreciate the relentless importunity with which the Government is besought to extend its paternalism to protect people against their own mistakes or against misfortune.

That these demands have been resisted is greatly to the credit of Congress and the Administration, and particularly to the credit of Secretary McAdoo, upon whose department most of these wild proposals insistently converge.

One cannot but be impressed with the public spirit of the Government officials in Washington, who are now at their desks night and day, Sundays and holidays, patiently listening to the impossible suggestions of people from all over the country, who come here obsessed with the idea that in the present emergency it is the duty of the Government to assume or avert the loss and interruption of business which must inevitably fall upon nearly every one in business in a European war that is wasting the world's wealth at the rate of $100,000,000 a day.

If the conference that has been in progress here for three days had been otherwise resultless, it would have been worth while for the sympathy it has established between the business men of the country and the Administration, and for the words of financial soberness and sanity which Secretary McAdoo has spoken.

In reply to the repeatedly urgent request that the Government should in some way so increase the issue of currency that unlimited borrowing would be possible Mr. McAdoo said:

"There is enough currency authorized by law to-day to wreck the United States of America, and the danger in this situation is that by ill-considered views and ill-considered actions we may put out so much inflationary paper money that we will ruin the country. You gentlemen must remember that this currency is not Government money. The Government has not got money that it is going to hand out to anybody. The only money in the Treasury of the United States to-day is the gold fund, the surplus over and above its liabilities, amounting to about $130,000,000, and that is none too much to enable this Government to carry on its business, and to take such reasonable measure of protection for the general interests of the country as the use of any surplus part of that fund may enable it to do."

The effect of these words upon the hundred and fifty men present at the Conference was to reinvigorate their self-confidence, reawaken their courage, and send them home with the optimism that is always born of self-dependence.

A committee of the Conference appointed by Secretary McAdoo has submitted a report making certain recommendations that are most interesting. Meanwhile the hysteria that has led to mistaken reliance upon the hope of Government relief has passed, and people have gone home with renewed confidence in themselves, the Nation, and the sane beneficence of our Governmental institutions.

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Current Events Pictorially Treated

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THE LATE POPE PIUS X

Giuseppe Melchiore Sarto was born June 2, 1835, and was therefore in his eightieth year at the time of his death. He was ordained in 1858; became Bishop of Mantua in 1884; was created Cardinal in 1893; and was elected Pope in 1903. His simplicity and straightforwardness of character caused him to be universally respected even by political and ecclesiastical opponents. For an account of his career see The Outlook for August 29

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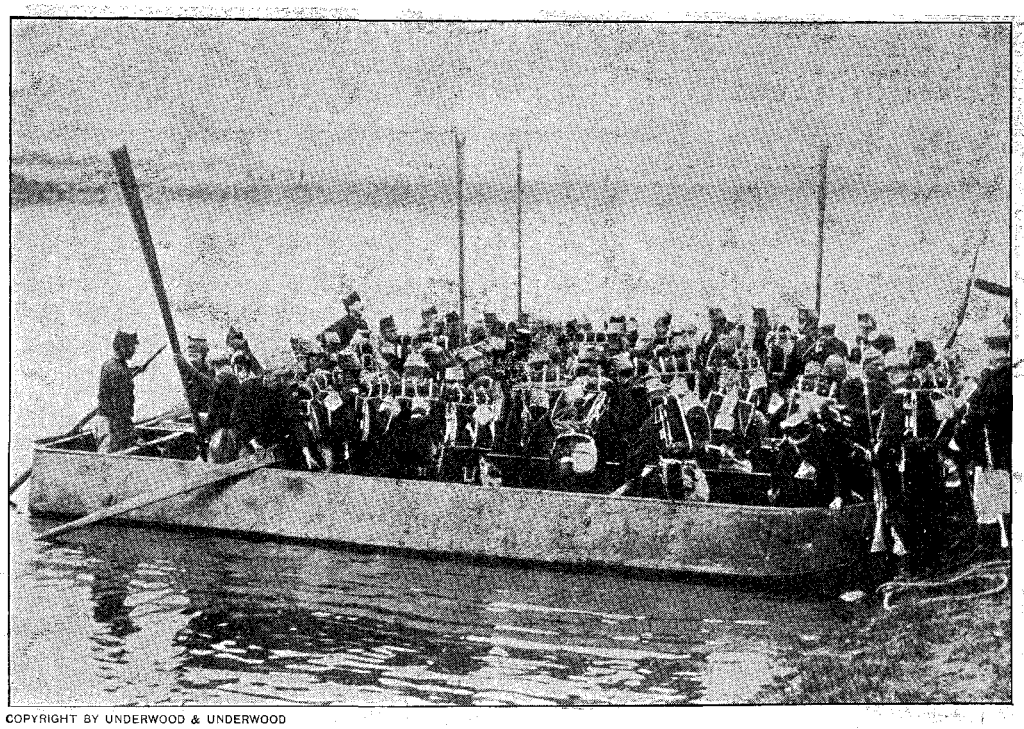

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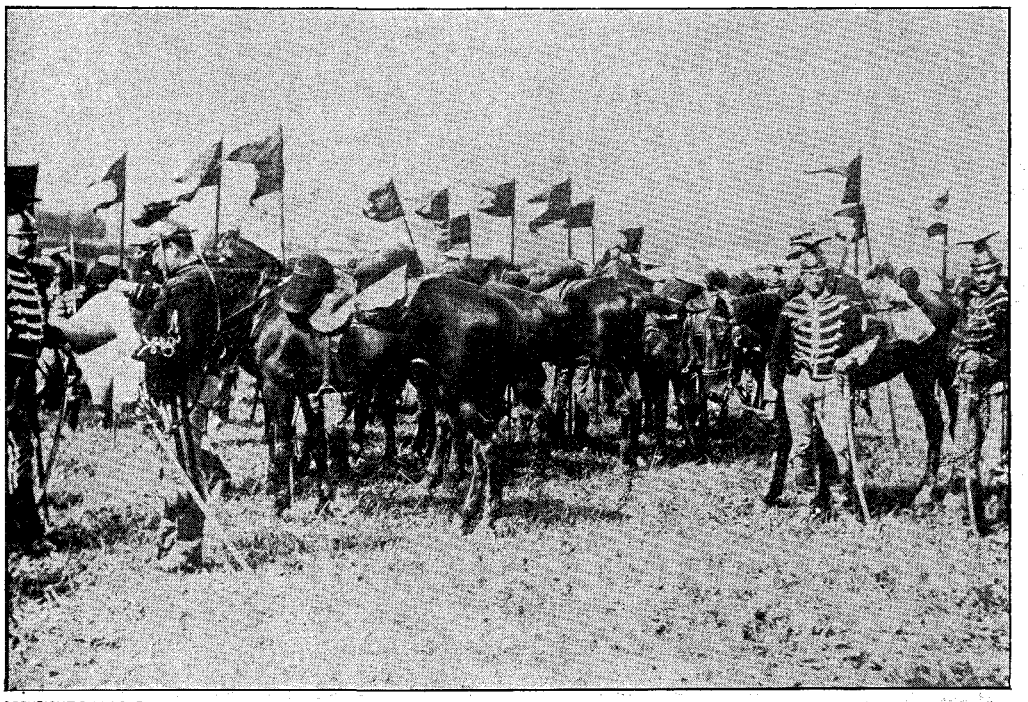
BELGIAN TROOPS CROSSING THE MEUSE RIVER NEAR LIÈGE



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BELGIAN STANDARDS TORN BY GERMAN BULLETS

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PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE GRANTHAM BAIN

RECRUITING IN MONTREAL, CANADA

The picture shows a recruiting station of the Fifth Royal Highlanders of Canada, who are attached to the famous Black Watch Highlanders

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PICKETS FROM THE SOMERSETSHIRE REGIMENT GUARDING THE COAST OF ENGLAND FROM POSSIBLE INVASION

BRITISH ACTIVITIES IN THE WAR

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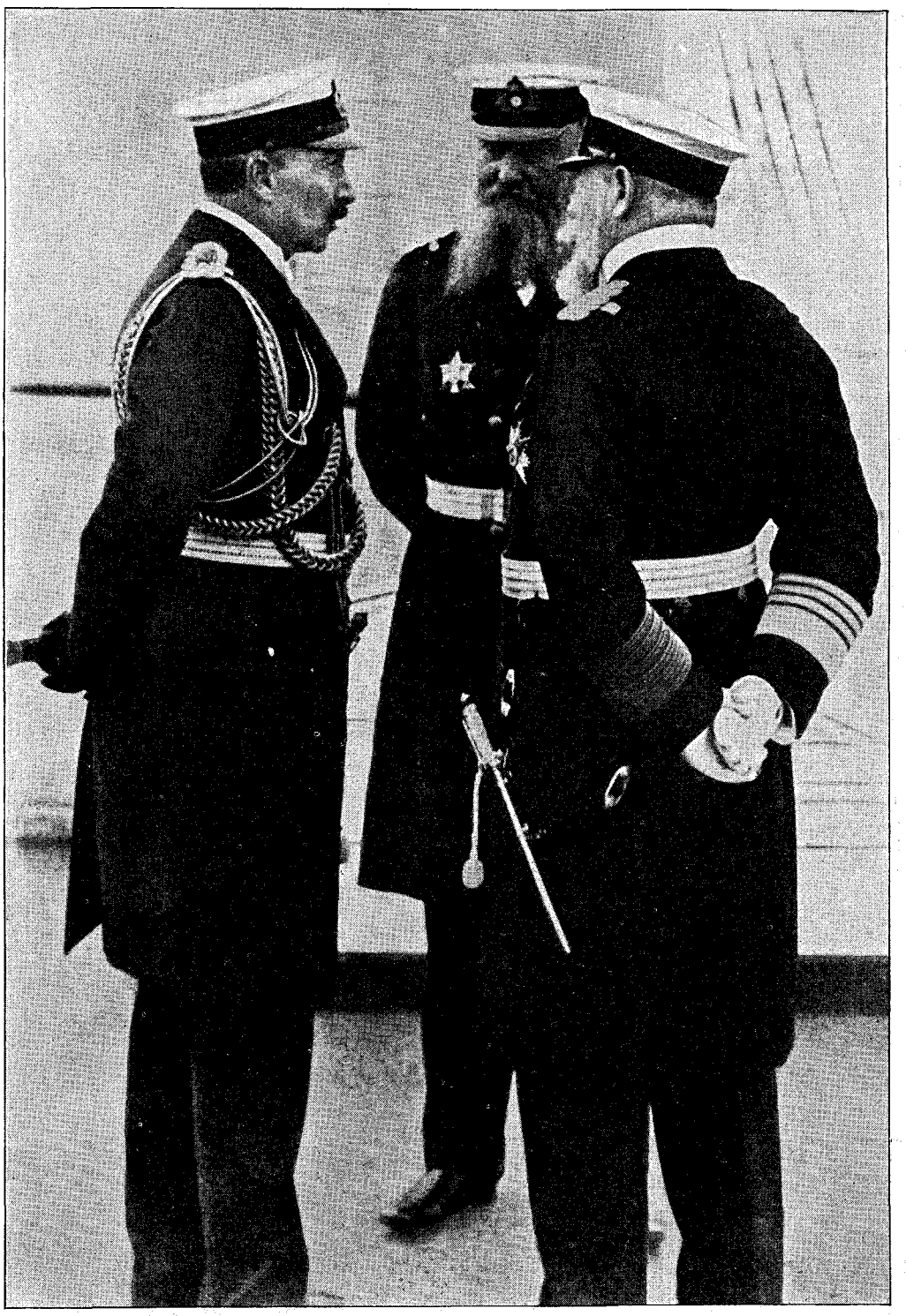

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THE KAISER AND HIS NAVAL CHIEFS

Emperor William on the left; Admiral von Tirpiz, the German Naval Minister, in center; Admiral von Holtzendorf, Commander-in-Chief of the German High Seas Fleet, on the right

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GOOD-BY!

This scene, representing the farewell of a French peasant soldier to his wife, has been enacted, it is safe to say, with variations, some millions of times during the last few weeks in the various countries of Europe that are now engaged in the greatest of wars

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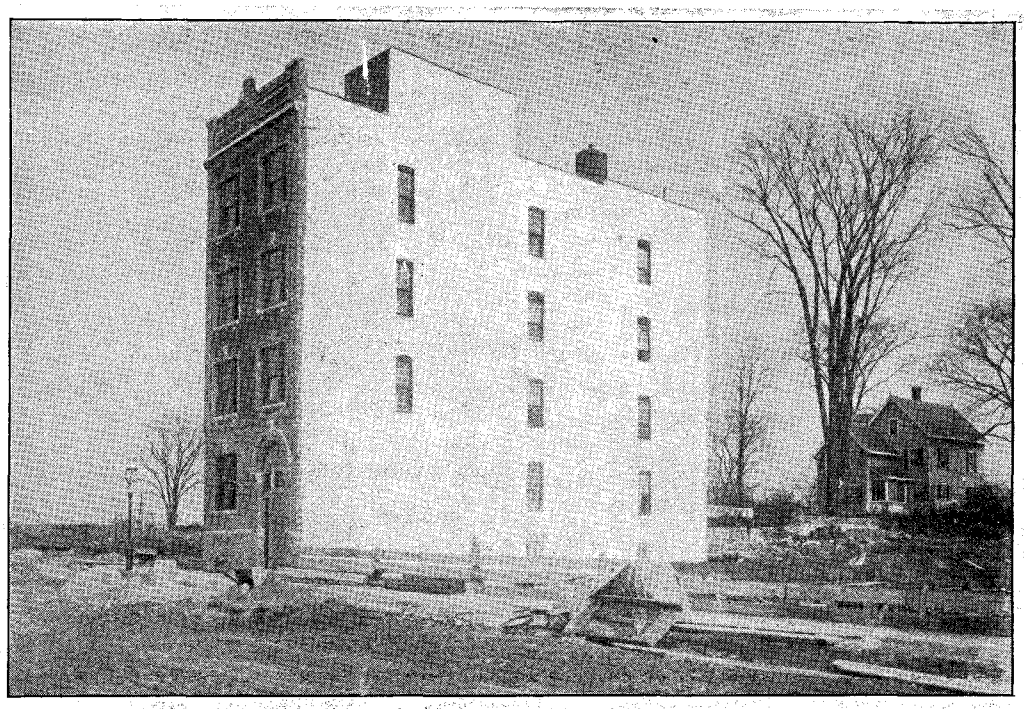
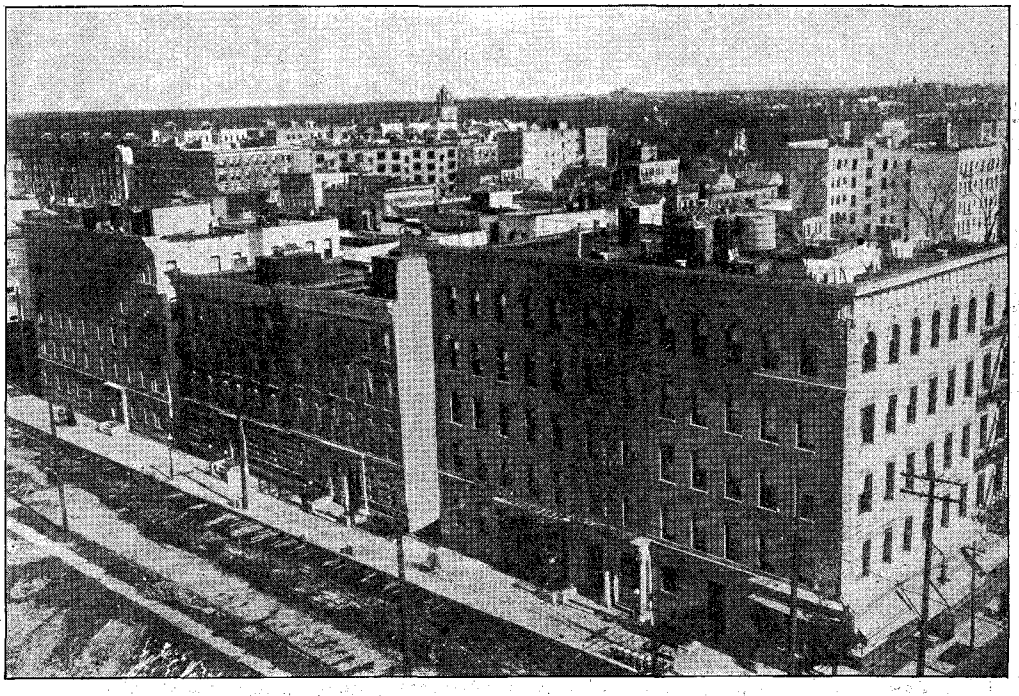


THE FRONTIER OF THE TENEMENTS



BRONX DEVELOPMENT FOLLOWING OPENING OF THE SUBWAY

New York City is attempting to solve some of the more pressing problems of collective living. See editorial comment

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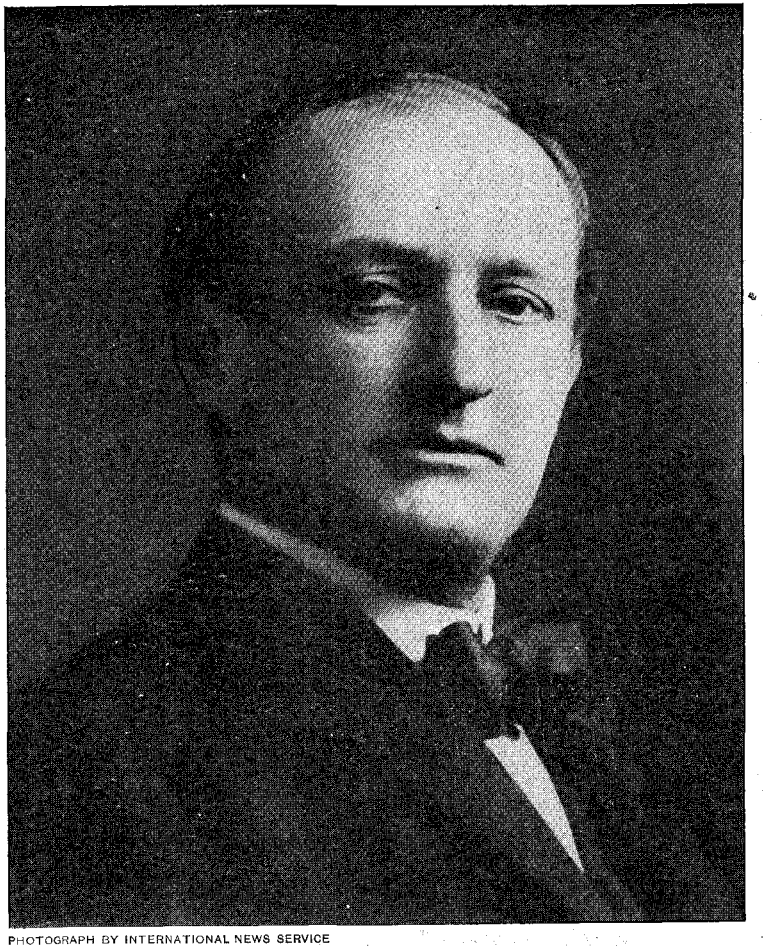

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JAMES CLARK McREYNOLDS

Attorney-General McReynolds, who has been appointed by the President to the vacant place in the United States Supreme Court, was born in Kentucky in 1862; was graduated from Vanderbilt University and the University of Virginia; was for a time professor in the Law School of Vanderbilt University; was Assistant Attorney-General, 1903-7; became Attorney-General of the United States in March, 1913

PHOTOGRAPH BY CAMPBELL STUDIOS

FREDERIC C. HOWE

Mr. Howe has been appointed by President Wilson as Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York. He was born in Meadville, Pennsylvania, in 1867; studied at Allegheny College, at John Hopkins University, and in Germany; practiced law in Cleveland; became member of Ohio Senate, and special U. S. Commissioner to investigate municipal ownership in Great Britain. He is the author of many volumes on public questions, and has been a frequent contributor to The Outlook

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FROM THE NEW YORK WORLD. BY ROLLIN KIRBY

SWAT THE HOG!

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ENGLAND IN TIME OF WAR

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

IMPRESSIVE beyond any possibility of description has been the demeanor of the English under the strain of war. London, of course, is the place where this strain has been most tense. All along Fleet Street and the Strand, in the region about Charing Cross, Trafalgar Square, Pall Mall, Haymarket, Piccadilly Circus, and Piccadilly, down by Victoria Station and Westminster Abbey, the cry of the news-vender all day long, and in the residence districts late into the night, makes it impossible to forget the fact of war. Before the locked gates of Somerset House, ordinarily open, two armed sentries pace back and forth. Occasionally the bus on which one is riding suddenly stops to wait till a company of Territorials in khaki uniform pass by. Six or eight little ragamuffins bearing wooden swords and wearing paper caps march along the Strand with utmost seriousness in the midst of the traffic, bearing a banner with the device:

WE WILL FIGHT FOR
OUR COUNTRY AND
DEFEND THE KING

and the passers-by look on them gravely without even an indulgent smile. Along Downing Street there is likely to be a crowd waiting to see some official or some member of the Cabinet drive to or from the Government offices. Along Whitehall there is another crowd, composed of men waiting their chance to reach the War Office in order to enlist. But London is not the only place where the signs of war keep pulling at one's nerves. One acquaintance has told me of playing, or trying to play, golf at North Berwick, and of the impossibility of keeping one's eye, even less one's mind, on the ball while in the waters near by, in full view, gunboats ply, and from over their decks rise war aeroplanes. Another acquaintance has reported his experience of living for a few days in a quiet place in rural England. During the day all seemed normal, he said, but after nightfall there began a procession of railway trains carrying troops —passing along one by one, at five-minute intervals, invisible in the darkness because all their lights were out. Then there are the rumors and stories that pass from mouth to mouth. Although not a word of news, so far as I could find, appeared in the English daily papers concerning the British Expeditionary Force (consisting of troops sent to the Continent to help the Belgians and the French), persistent oral accounts of their going by night from Charing Cross Station, of their transportation in great steamships across the Channel, and even of the return of the wounded to hospitals in England, were from the beginning to be encountered everywhere. On all sides people talked of the war even before there was war; some of them with heartsick dread of its evils, not for themselves, but for the world, hoping that it might be averted; others consumed with anxiety lest England might be too late. One man, a Liberal, officially connected with a humane society, almost denounced the Government because they had not had English troops in Antwerp by the 3d of August. One who has not had the experience of being a passive spectator in a belligerent country at a time like this can scarcely imagine the mental and nervous strain of it all. It was as if we were all dreaming the same evil dream, and waking to find it true. And through it all the English, high and low, were imperturbable.

It was during the first few days that the strain was severest. Monday, the 3d of August, was Bank Holiday. The danger of war had come so suddenly that few were prepared for the financial stress. Very wisely the Government decided to extend the Bank Holiday until Friday. On Tuesday, therefore, the banks remained closed, but the shops were open. On one of these days I went with a friend into a shop in Westminster to buy a trifle. The shop was empty of customers. The shopkeeper tried to sell us some watches. He urged us to buy. He took off twenty per cent of the price. Finally he admitted that he had to have gold to meet his obligations, and offered us the watches for a ridiculously small sum. We did not know how long we should have to stay in England or how our money would hold out. When we left without buying, I felt as if I was turning my back on a drowning man. Before the Bank Holiday was ended, however, England had recovered her financial equilibrium. Ten-shilling and one-pound bank notes were in circulation. They

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did not look like money to an Englishman, but of course they were accepted.

Except for the orderly crowds that thronged Trafalgar Square and gathered about Buckingham Palace to cheer the King and Queen during the culmination of the crisis, there were no signs of anything approaching excitement. I read of some alleged cases of the rough handling of Germans, but I saw nothing of the kind and met no one who had seen anything of the kind. The people went about their business as usual. Newspapers urged their readers to continue their outings, and to keep life as normal as possible. On the Sunday after war was declared I went by steamboat down the Thames from Hampton Court to Kew. In the houseboats moored along the banks the people were taking their accustomed Sunday recreation. Young men in white flannels and young women in light dresses were rowing and punting in boats as during the days of peace. Unquestionably many of these English families who seemed totally undisturbed had already seen sons and brothers go to join the Territorials; unquestionably many of the young men on the river would themselves soon be in camp or on the march; but that made no difference.

What bound Great Britain together in all this was the conviction that the cause of Great Britain was just. I had occasion to talk with various types of men—members of Parliament, waiters, business men, policemen, fellow-travelers in the train, shopkeepers; everywhere there was the one conviction that Great Britain was bound by duty to herself, and even more by her duty to Belgium and France, to take her part in the war. The only English people who showed signs of disturbance were those who had committed themselves in some prominent way to the cause of peace—and these were not disturbed by fear, but by the burial of their hopes.

The one exception to this universal approval of England's course was furnished by a member of the so-called "Peace Group" in Parliament. At first he was inclined to believe that England had been forced into war by the aggressiveness of the Kaiser and his clique. In a day or two, however, he had turned back to his original peace view.

"England was under no obligation to take up arms," he said. "England should have remained neutral, as Italy did."

"What of Germany's violation of Belgium's neutrality?" I asked. "Was not England bound by moral obligation to help enforce the pledge that Germany had made to respect that neutrality?"

There were two answers that he made to that. One was that England would have been in a stronger position if she had stood aside, let Germany and France, with Russia, fight it out, then, when both combatants were exhausted, been ready to step in fresh and strong and dictate to Germany the terms of peace and the penalty for the violation of her word. The other answer that he made was that England had always pursued the policy of "splendid isolation," and in departing from that by joining in with Continental Powers in Continental quarrels she had opened the way for incalculable future perils.

"What if Germany has broken her pledge?" he asked. "We have no right to fight her for that. England has in the past broken pledges too. No; we are committing a crime to enter this war. This is the work of the Liberal jingoes who have been preaching a big navy and have been entangling us with Continental alliances. It is an astounding thing that Parliament should have been kept ignorant of what is virtually a secret agreement with France that, if she sent her fleet to the Mediterranean, we should defend her from any attack upon her coasts. Mark my words. Public opinion will not support this war. The North of England is solidly against it."

He seemed to ignore the implications of his statement—that England by remaining neutral would have left brave little Belgium in the lurch, would have given Germany a chance to get a foothold in the Low Countries where she could be a constant menace to England's shores, would have acquiesced in the German attempt to reduce France to a third-rate Power, and, so far from atoning for the former breach of pledges of which he accused his own country, would have given to England's enemies another occasion of charging her with perfidy.

In not a single other case did I find an Englishman who is not convinced of the righteousness of England's action; and even my good friend of the Parliamentary "Peace Group" admitted the force of the view that arms could be put to no better service than in enforcing treaty obligations and in withstanding a policy of conquest.

If Germany had been counting on aid for herself from the English advocates of peace, she was destined to be disappointed in this, as she certainly was disappointed in finding

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that the Irish question had not disrupted Great Britain and that commercial prudence had not expelled or obscured British love of fair play. In the London "Times" for Saturday, August 8, there appeared two bits of evidence on this point. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who is known in Great Britain as well as in America as one of the foremost "advocates of heavenly peace and foes of hellish war" (to use his own phrase), sent a telegram which was published in that issue which contains the following sentence: "Her Peace Conference having been rejected by Germany, I feel that Britain only did her duty when she promptly refused Germany's counter-proposal to be permitted to invade Belgium to attack France, and declared she would protect Belgium by land and sea."

The other bit of evidence was the publication of a two-column advertisement consisting of a message from the Religious Society of Friends which contains the following paragraph:

We recognize that our Government has made most strenuous efforts to preserve peace, and has entered into the war under a grave sense of duty to a smaller state towards which we had moral and treaty obligations. While, as a Society, we stand firmly to the belief that the method of force is no solution of any question, we hold that the present moment is not one for criticism, but for devoted service to our nation.

Of course the men who control the utterances of the Conservative press are upholders of the war with Germany; but I was especially interested in getting the opinions of Liberal journalists who are traditionally against all that savors of militarism as a hindrance to the expenditure of effort and money on behalf of social reform. To a man, the Liberal journalists with whom I talked recognized the necessity for the present war. Not one of them but said, when Germany violated Belgium's neutrality, that England must fight. One of them I met at his office. It was before war was declared. He was still hoping for peace, hoping that Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, and Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, would find some way of keeping Germany to her pledges without war; but he confessed that there was a price which England could not pay for peace—the price of her honor and safety. Another I met after war had broken out. He was a representative of one of the best-known Liberal journals in the United Kingdom. He declared the war was imperative.

"Englishmen do not hate the Germans," he explained; "indeed, they like them very well. There is much we have in common with the German—much more than we have in common with our Russian allies. The hideous thing about this war is that, as far as England is concerned, it is a war without hatred."

This feeling I found expressed again and again. Not only journalists, but all sorts of men, have said to me repeatedly: "We are not fighting the German people; we are fighting the Prussian war party. It is the Kaiser, not the German people, that must be held responsible for this war."

Sooner or later almost every Englishman with whom I talked expressed the opinion that the Kaiser was insane. "He's a stark, staring lunatic," was the way the proprietor of a little news shop put it. "Mad," "Crazy," "Off his head"—these are the terms in which Englishmen of various stations offered the only explanation they could think of for the Kaiser's course.

Another common opinion, shared by a waiter in a restaurant, a London "bobby," and a writer of serials for the lighter London weeklies, is that before the war ends there will be revolution in Germany. Most of them expect to see a republic emerge from this war of the nations. This is not merely an opinion of ignorance. One man who had spent several years in Germany took this view. He could not see that the existence of a number of monarchies within the Federal Empire formed necessarily any obstacle to such a result.

Not the least impressive factor in public sentiment in England is the lack of enthusiasm for one of England's allies—Russia. Unbounded admiration for the Belgians and warm-hearted friendship for the French were everywhere evident; but no interest in the Russians. The boys who were selling penny flags on the street had the French tricolor in almost as large quantities as the Union Jack, and after the fighting at Liège displayed a goodly stock of Belgian flags; but so far as I remember they had no Russian flags for sale. Again and again when I mentioned Russia there was a shaking of the head, and whenever I ventured an opinion that after this war was over England would have to be ready to reckon with the great Slav Empire, there was immediate assent. Frankly, the English do not like to be in the position of fighting on Russia's side. They all admit the necessity, but they deplore it.

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This scarcely veiled distrust of the Slav ally is, however, but a very small element in English feeling. The one supreme factor is the common Englishman's determination to resist what he believes to be the ambition to gain dominion at the expense of others which has obsessed the Prussian military clique, and has at last set Europe aflame with the most terrible war in history. Not the least of Sir Edward Grey's achievements as a statesman has been his success in so conducting the negotiations prior to the war as to convince his fellow-subjects of the King that Germany has had but one reason for going to war—the determination to dominate Europe. At times in past years there has been a sort of nervous apprehension among the English people about Germany's plans. One day when I was in London there was a single loud crash of thunder. One thought seemed to spring up in everybody's mind—a bomb from a Zeppelin air-ship. That, however, was but a heritage from the period of vague fantastic fears. Now that war has come, all those fears seem to have been suddenly banished. In their place there are a calm confidence and a ready determination to deal with the Prussian King and his group of war lords as they deserve. There was no sign of panic. Some people, it is true, started to stock up with tinned food and groceries as if they expected British coasts to be at once blockaded; but they were not typical. They were laughed at, and some of them, I know, felt very foolish when they found themselves stocked up as for an Arctic expedition while their neighbors were living on fresh food just as usual. Of course this does not mean that the ordinary Englishman is taking this war lightly. Far from it. He is taking it with grim seriousness. He knows very well something of what it means already. The lady who, while driving to the village from her country house, has her favorite pair of horses seized and commandeered for the army, faces a fact of war, even though she does not hear a shot. And there are many people over England who have had to face that fact. Some English families are pulling up their flower beds and planting vegetables instead. There is, however, very little complaint. I heard not a word of it. Instead there is pride in what England has proved herself ready to do.

Along the coast woods and houses in the line of gun fire were razed. More than one Englishman told me of friends whose homes had been demolished in that way. Even when compensated, the owners of such property must suffer great loss; but the spirit of the Englishman at this time was of pride that he could offer a sacrifice.

A few days after war was declared I happened to be in a printing office in London. One of the partners in the firm told me of his experiences that day. He had been on the coast for his holiday, and had received a message from the other members of his firm calling him to London. He came up on his motor cycle—seventy miles in just over two hours.

"The constables along the road would have stopped me," he said, "except that they thought I was on the King's business. All along the road were Boy Scouts. They were watching the telegraph posts to see that the wires were not cut; at every post or two there was a Scout, and they meant business."

This testimony about the Scouts was confirmed by what a Boy Scout himself told me. He himself had been on duty watching the telegraph lines, had been in the squad that had discovered a wire tapped, and after report was made to the military authorities had learned that the tapping had been done by the military, but that somehow a record had not been made. As can be seen, the Boy Scouts are doing real service to their country.

"The anxiety is over, now that war has begun," continued the Englishman in the printing office. "Perhaps the Germans are better men, but we are ready. And the French will fight. The man who has had sorrow in his soul for forty years is bound to fight. The Germans—the poor beggars!—they don't want to fight. It's the Kaiser's doing. He expected to be in Paris by August 6, and now it's the 12th. I'm too old for the army; but I can be useful. I can do police work. With my motor cycle I can be very useful. Yes, yes, every Englishman would take a musket if needed." And I believed him.

Never, I suppose, have Englishmen been prouder of their country. They are proud of its patience, its unwearying effort to avoid war, its restraint when Germany proposed to bribe it into neutrality at the cost of France and Belgium; proud of its unhesitating acceptance of war when the time came; proud of the silence of the press when news of military movements was suppressed, not by exercise of authority, but by co-operation

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of newspaper men with the Government; proud of the efficiency with which the Cabinet silently in a day took over the railways, and, with the help of a committee consisting of all the general managers of the British railway lines, is now operating them as if they formed a department of the Government; proud of the sinking of political differences in the face of common danger; and, what is most striking, Englishmen are proud of the Irish, and the Irish are proud of the Empire.

The Home Rule question is settled—at least so thought every Englishman with whom I talked of the subject—and the settlement of that question is due to an Irishman—the Parliamentary leader, Mr. Redmond. When he made his speech bidding the British Government to withdraw all troops from Ireland if they needed them, and promising the Empire that the soil of Ireland would be defended by Nationalists and Ulsterites together, he swept away the one obstacle that had been standing in the way of a peaceful settlement of the Home Rule question—Conservative doubt of Irish loyalty. By that one speech Irish loyalty (which ought not to have been questioned) was proved—and all England was ready to yield anything to Ireland. It is true that one man who had relatives in the North of Ireland told me he thought that after the war was over there would be bloodshed in Ireland—as there had been bloodshed scarcely more than a week before the war started—but his was the only opinion I heard on that side, and it was based on his conviction that among the Ulster Protestants there were some bigots who would never be reconciled. On the other side I heard that the people of Ireland, South as well as North, were really well content with the present state of affairs, and that the only dissatisfied element consisted of politicians. Of one fact, however, there could be no difference of opinion—Ireland is with the rest of the Empire in this war.

The one uncertain factor in Great Britain, so far as I could learn, was the extreme labor element. Before war was declared there was a controversy between employers and employees in the building trades, and apparently that controversy continued in spite of war. One day, for instance, while I was walking along Bridge Street by the Clock Tower and New Palace Yard, thinking only of the war, I passed a young woman collecting money to aid the workingmen who had lost their jobs through the building trades lockout. The fact that a labor conflict could continue at a time like this seems to me one of the most damning indictments against the prevailing industrial system. But of course that controversy was lost in the great world war; and I did not think of it again till I started to write this. Certainly, if there are labor leaders in England who are irreconcilable, if the resignation of John Burns from the Cabinet is an indication of an anti-war spirit in the United Kingdom, there was during the first two weeks of the war no outward sign of it of sufficient prominence to attract my notice, and there was no reflection of it in the talk of the man in the street. England's internal problems were forgotten in the presence of the common enemy. One Liberal went so far as to say that the war, he believed, would mean the end of the Liberal party, at least as it had been known heretofore; because war would consume all the money that had been devoted to the operation of such Liberal policies as old age pensions, land reform, and the like. On the other hand, it seemed to me that the war might well mean the strengthening of the real Liberal party, for not only had the Liberal Government shown extraordinary statesmanship in the international crisis, but it had shown courage and efficiency in meeting the national energency by the enactment and enforcement of measures of great social significance—such as the governmental operation of railways and governmental building of houses.

England has been doing unprecedented things because the emergency is unprecedented. The effect of the war upon the common life of the English people was pictured one evening in the House of Commons when I had the good fortune to be present. One member after another rose and laid before the Government the needs of his constituency. A member from a coast region told of the privation of many of his constituents who were dependent upon letting lodgings to summer visitors, and who now found their lodgings empty. Another told of those among his constituents whose livelihood depended upon the use of horses—carters, milkmen, tradesmen who delivered their goods in wagons—and who now found themselves shut off from self-support because their horses had been commandeered. A ripple of amusement passed over the House when it was pointed out that the owner of a single horse need not be apprehensive, as the Government was taking only fifty per cent

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of any one's property in horseflesh, and the Government would have no use for fifty per cent of one horse. Another man who represented a fishing constituency asked for governmental insurance for the fishermen as well as for the owners of merchant vessels, especially as the fishermen provided the nation with an important supply of food. Another member spoke on behalf of the wives and families of reservists, and asked that the Government arrange some system of credit by which these dependents could draw upon the reservists' pay.

Such is the unprecedented situation in England; and the Government is making precedents in providing for that situation. Yet England is not abandoning her traditions. The Kingdom was aroused when the impression was conveyed that the King, of his own initiative, had summoned representatives of all parties to a conference with him, and indignation was allayed only when the Prime Minister explained that he and not the King was responsible. And nothing, not even war, interrupts afternoon tea. On Friday, August 14, the day before I was to take the steamer for New York, I read a notice in Liverpool that all visitors not British subjects had to present themselves to be registered by the police. My friend and I started out to comply with the requirement. Policeman after policeman, in directing us to the police station, informed us that though we were Americans, citizens of a neutral country, and though we were to sail the next day, we should have to be registered or we should not be allowed to leave the country. By the time the third officer told us that, we were consumed with an eagerness to have our finger prints taken. At last we found the police station, only to be told that we could not be registered because "they" had gone out "to tea." There was something reassuring about that. British institutions seemed, after all, to be solid. We were going to cross the ocean under the British flag; and if the police could adjourn registration of aliens in time of war because of "afternoon tea," we decided that the British fleet must still rule the wave.

And it proved to rule the wave. Though port-holes were darkened at night by dead lights and by blankets, so that we might be able to slip by any hostile cruiser in the darkness, and though the steamship ran out of the usual course so that it might disappoint whatever German war-ships might be lying in wait for British merchantmen on the Atlantic lanes, no untoward incident occurred. Not only British subjects, not only American citizens, but even the German subjects coming to the United States because they could not get to Germany, who through British magnanimity were allowed to board this British vessel, had reason to be grateful for Britain's mastery of the sea.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

On board the S.S. Campania, August 21.

WAR ISSUES IN RUSSIA AND THE FAR EAST

BY GEORGE KENNAN

STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK

ONE of the most noteworthy results of Russia's participation in the European war, so far as her internal affairs are concerned, is the sudden and complete abandonment of her so-called "nationalistic" policy. Ever since the accession of Stolypin as Premier, in 1905, the Czar and his Government have been engaged in an ill-advised and short-sighted attempt to crush or cripple the Jews and to Russianize by force the Finns and the Poles. Thousands of Jews in all parts of the Empire have been driven back into the great national ghetto known as the Pale of Settlement, while thousands more have been deprived even of the limited educational facilities which they enjoyed under the pre-revolutionary régime. Scores of Jewish schools have been closed upon the most frivolous pretexts; the admission of Jewish students to the universities has been still further restricted by the lottery system; and the influence of Jewish business men in the commercial world has been paralyzed by an order forbidding them to participate actively in the management of joint-stock companies or corporations.

The treatment of the Finns and the Poles has been equally bad, if not worse. The

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former were forcibly deprived of the autonomy which they had enjoyed for nearly a century, and their officials and judges were sent to Russian prisons merely because they would not disregard and disobey the Finnish constitution, which the Czar himself had solemnly sworn to recognize and maintain. The Poles were not deprived of their liberties, because they had no liberties; but their schools were taken out of their control; the use of their native language was forbidden; their economic, scientific, and educational societies were suppressed; and their pride in their national history and achievements was treated as a crime. Readers of the story "A Sacrilegious Fox Hunt," which was published in The Outlook a few months ago, will doubtless remember some of the persecutions to which the unfortunate Poles were subjected between 1908 and 1913.

In short, under the Stolypin régime and that of his successor, the Jews, the Finns, and the Poles were given over to the tender mercies of the Nationalists, the Double-Headed Eagles, and the Black Hundreds, whose party cry was, "Russia for the Russians and down with the aliens!"

Suddenly, a few weeks ago, Russia became involved in war, and under the pressure of a great peril the nationalistic policy, with its intolerance, its aggressiveness, and its brutal disregard of Jewish, Finnish, and Polish rights, instantly went to pieces. General Rennenkampf, a bitter reactionist and Jew-hater, began to attend Jewish religious services in the synagogue at Vilna; the order prohibiting the participation of Jews in the management of joint-stock companies was rescinded; and a little later it was announced that the Czar would shortly grant to the Jews all the civil and political rights enjoyed by Russians of orthodox faith and pure Slavic blood. About the same time the Russianizing campaign against the Finns was suspended; and last week the Czar issued a proclamation in which he announced his intention to restore the ancient boundaries of the Kingdom of Poland, and to give its inhabitants complete autonomy, with the removal of all restrictions on language and religion.

These concessions to Jews, Finns, and Poles have been made, of course, under pressure, and with a view to unifying the nation in spirit for the impending struggle with Germany and Austria. The question now is, Will the Czar's promises be kept when they have served their purpose, and when the pressure of military necessity has been removed? There is reason to hope that they will; but the world would put more faith in the Czar's pledged word if he had kept his promises in the past. He declared, two or three different times, that he would abolish the Siberian exile system; but political offenders are still being sent to Yakutsk, Yeniseisk, and the provinces of the trans-Baikal. He swore in his coronation oath that he would respect and maintain the Constitution given by Alexander II to Finland, but he broke faith when he approved the law depriving the Finnish Diet of its constitutional rights and powers. Finally, he solemnly promised, in the Imperial Manifesto of October 30, 1905, that he would give to the Russian people freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religious belief, and freedom of public assembly. Nearly ten years have passed since that time, but Governmental oppression still continues, and the nation has even less freedom, in many respects, than it had under Alexander II. The war, it is true, may result in the emancipation of the Finns and the Poles, under an international guarantee; but, in the light of past history, the promises of the Czar are not to be implicitly trusted. When he was harrying and persecuting the Jews, the Finns, and the Poles, he should have foreseen that at some future time he might need their good will and their help.

The actual or potential interference with British commerce in the Far East by German cruisers from the Kaiser's naval station at Tsingtao, in Kiauchau Bay, led Japan, the Far Eastern ally of Great Britain, to send to the German Government a seven-day ultimatum demanding that the Far Eastern fleet of Germany disarm or withdraw at once, and that the German leased territory of Kiauchau be surrendered to the Japanese authorities not later than September 15, for eventual restoration to China. The Japanese Government based its action on the necessity of "removing the cause of all disturbances of the peace in the Far East, and safeguarding the general interests as contemplated by the agreement of alliance between Japan and Great Britain." As, by noon of August 23, the German Government had not unconditionally agreed to comply with this demand, Japan and Germany are now at war.

As Germany has spent twenty or thirty million dollars in improving and fortifying her position in Kiauchau Bay, and as she has there a fleet of thirteen cruisers and gun-

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boats, it is not at all likely that she will surrender without a long struggle. Japan and Great Britain have blockaded the entrance to the Bay, and Japan has begun siege operations on land for the reduction of the fortress. These operations will be carried on mainly, of course, by the Japanese, whose experiences on the Liaotung peninsula qualify them pre-eminently for the task. The forts of Tsingtau, however, are said to be even stronger than those at Port Arthur, and if they are well supplied with provisions and ammunition they will not be easily taken. But the Japanese are experts in sapping, mining, and trench-fighting, and they will not again sacrifice fifteen or twenty thousand men, as they did at Port Arthur, in trying to take strong intrenchments by storm. They will invest the German fortress; approach it slowly through zigzag trenches and saps; destroy the German fleet by accurate high-angle fire from heavy siege guns; shatter the forts by means of mining operations and bombardment, and not attempt an assault in force until the intrenchments have been so weakened that they may be taken by storm without undue loss of life.

Kiauchau Bay, with about two hundred square miles of circumjacent territory, was taken from China by Germany in 1898 as indemnity for the murder of two or three German missionaries. Since they acquired it, the Germans have erected at Tsingtau a typical German city; have connected it with the valley of the Hoangho by means of a railway through the province of Shantung; and have made it a naval base, as well as a point of vantage for commercial enterprise in all that part of China. They have constructed three extensive granite piers, and a steel floating dock large enough to accommodate any battle-ship now in Far Eastern waters. The loss of this colony, naval base, and commercial outpost will perhaps be a more serious blow to Germany than the loss of all her possessions in Africa, while the capture of it will enable Japan to "get even" with the Power that was most active in taking Port Arthur away from her after the war with China.

AN AMERICAN WOMAN FLEES FROM PARIS

We have received from a reader of The Outlook—an American woman traveling in Europe—a letter giving an interesting account of her experience with the American refugees who hurried to London from Paris after the French declaration of war. We wish space permitted us to print it in full; but the following extracts, read in connection with the account given by our staff correspondent last week, present a vivid picture of the perplexities, discomforts, and distress of mind and body which European travelers suffered after the outbreak of hostilities. The little touches of humor and sympathy disclosed in this letter are a grateful offset to the tales of horror and bloodshed which must inevitably be the chief printed product of the war.—THE EDITORS.

IN the afternoon, at the Bon Marché, in the course of our purchasing, we were asked in what shape we carried our money, and when we showed a hundred-franc note were told with a grave look that money was very scarce, and that giving too much change to us, in silver, would be a greater evil than losing the entire sale. In other words, you simply couldn't buy 15 francs' worth of stuff if a 50-franc note was all you could offer in payment. Such a difficulty is easily met by the feminine mind, at a counter of hand-embroidery; and as our purchases came to 84.95 francs, we were given change, of which we little grasped the later value to ourselves. In crippled French we tried to understand from the bookkeeper what the trouble was, and couldn't in the least grasp any satisfactory answer as to why a war in Servia should make Parisians hoard their gold.

From the Bon Marché we crossed the street to a chocolate shop. There, before putting up our candy, they asked us if we had exactly two francs to pay for it, as they had no change whatever. That looked serious. We bought a paper and sat at a table

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outside a restaurant and tried to make out what and how serious the trouble was.

All of this alarmed us sufficiently to send us the next morning to cash some money. It was on the next day that the crowds besieged the banks. At Cook's the office was so crowded that we cashed money at the American Express Company after waiting in a long line. Paper money and one or two pieces of silver were all we could get. From the express office we went to the Consulate, where many anxious Americans were waiting their turns, and where we heard bits of their problems. One woman had paid for a tourist ticket to Switzerland, and back to the coast to sail in about two weeks' time, and couldn't well afford to lose the money she had paid for the ticket; would it be wise for her to go ahead with her plans? Two nurses had come, having heard that there would be a demand for expert nursing, but were advised to return to America and give up the idea. One woman, a widow, had a German name, and wanted identification and residential papers. We were planning to go to Switzerland, and wanted to know whether we had better go at once. The Consul advised our waiting developments in Paris. Although all these people at the Consulate seemed anxious, it was an anxiety about a future some ten days or two weeks off; the immediate need of action seemed not to impress any.

There was an anxious time of consultation, in the midst of which our friends telephoned to say they were leaving for London just as early as possible, and urging us to do the same. They might even go north in a motor if the trains seemed uncertain. That turned the scale of our indecision, and we decided to get to London as soon as possible. Money was by this time a grave problem. We wanted to carry a sufficient amount of French money to safeguard a possible overnight's delay at Boulogne. On the other hand, we didn't want French paper on our hands in England. We counted out our money very carefully, and had about 400 francs in paper, 70 francs in gold, and possibly 70 more in silver. The gold was left over from that we had brought from London on Tuesday.

We hurried back to the hotel, and packed as rapidly as possible. Contrary to advice, we ate luncheon at the hotel, so as to pay for it out of our paper money, of which our hotel bill, a little over 200 francs, took our last piece.

We heard on the train of some difficulty in securing taxicabs, but ours was ready as we came out from luncheon, and, with our two trunks and two suit-cases, we made our way to the Gare du Nord. There was a dreadful scarcity of porters, but in time we had our trunks registered, and took a very probable farewell of them, at the door of the luggage office.

At the window where we paid the excess on our luggage we were offered English gold at only one-half franc for exchange. This we were afraid to take, still fearing delay at Boulogne.

It was then one o'clock. We went at once to the gate from which our train was to leave, and until 3:30 stood waiting, with our suit-cases beside us. It wasn't long before the crowd before the gate grew; but we were well up towards the front, and expected no difficulty in getting seats, as they had told us at the express that none would be reserved. The crowd at the gate was anxious, but patient and long-enduring. The heat was great, and frequent luggage-trucks were sent through the crowd, with a consequent pushing on each side, during which it was hard not to fall over the suit-cases beside us. The two men who had helped us at the express office were cheering every one, and tried to reserve compartments for their party and a number of women near them, who were traveling alone. There was some chaff. One woman said: "Aren't the French awful! You can't understand a word they say, and they won't take their own money."

There was a terrible tension on the train; with us it was the greatest point of strain we experienced. There was the possibility of being held back at Boulogne by lack of passports, by the boat not running, or by its being overcrowded; the crossing in a rough sea would be frightful, and there had been a rumor that the lighthouses were dark; there was fear again that the train at Folkestone might be inadequate to carry so large a booking; and, lastly, London must be frightfully overcrowded, and we had little hope of finding any place to lay our heads. The next day was Sunday, and we had French money, and no idea how much difficulty we might have in cashing American Express checks

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and letters of credit. Our Paris experiences had not been reassuring in that respect.

All these possibilities went through our anxious and tired minds over and over again. We reached Boulogne at a little after seven, and there were porters to carry our luggage. We secured seats on the upper deck and went at once to the bar, where we changed our French to English money, and bought a ham sandwich, a banana, and a glass of ale. The sea was very smooth, the sky cloudy, and rain fell at intervals, but after the heat and dust of the afternoon no one seemed to mind. Indeed, the most noticeable feature of the crossing was the change in the mood of the passengers. The strain seemed to have broken.

In Folkestone there were few porters and we carried our suit-cases ourselves. All the hand luggage, by the way, was very heavy, as Americans always have taken, as the law of the Persians, the assurance that "in Europe there are always porters." The customs officials marked the luggage without opening it, and we were put by the guard into a first-class compartment of a train which pulled out in a minute or two. Two Englishmen were in the compartment, and read the latest papers intently. We slept most of the way to London, where we arrived at 12:15.

The feeling of comradeship which our common plight gives is noticeable everywhere. In the hotel we are all chatting about in the parlor and writing-room like old friends, and compare experiences with other Americans on the tops of buses. There is a good-natured acceptance of the privations necessitated by our condition; we all try to cut down our expenditure to the absolute necessities. The same man who laughingly remarked, "I had tea at the Savoy once; I like to think of it!" decided not to use a clean handkerchief to brush the rain off his coat.

London, August 6.

THE GERMANS AND THE WAR

I—THE PEOPLE AND THE KRIEGSPARTEI

BY FREDERIC WILLIAM WILE

For over seven years Mr. Wile, the author of this article, has been the chief correspondent of the London "Daily Mail" in Germany, and the Berlin correspondent of the New York "Times" and the Chicago "Tribune." From King Oscar II of Sweden and Norway he had before that time secured the first interview ever granted by a European monarch to an American newspaper man. His acquaintance with German affairs is intimate. He is the author of "The Men Around the Kaiser," an interesting account of some of the makers of modern Germany. At the outbreak of the present war Mr. Wile had a narrow escape from Berlin. Although an American, and well known at the hotel where he was temporarily staying, he was denounced as an English spy, roughly handled, taken to the Police Presidency, and was in peril of being shot, as Russians and French had been. He was released only upon the summary action of the American Ambassador, Mr. Gerard, and found safe exit from Germany only through the great courtesy of the British Ambassador, who permitted him to leave on the train on which he himself departed under safe conduct.
—THE EDITORS.

THERE are sixty-six million Germans. Sixty-five million of them did not want war. The other million are the War Party. That their influence immeasurably outruns their numerical strength is evident from the fact that they not only wanted war but got it. The voice of the sixty-five million was as one crying in the wilderness. It has always been so in Prussianized, militarized Germany.

No list of members of the War Party has ever been published. It has no official exist-

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ence. But who compose it and what it has stood for are an open book. The Kaiser would deny the most vehemently of all that he is affiliated with the *Kriegspartei*. Unfortunately, his speeches are against him. He has talked too much and too often of his martial ambitions, has set the world too frequently by the ears with his blatant apotheoses of Mars and Neptune, to merit the diadem of a peace prince. William II's ebullient son and heir, the Crown Prince, is an avowed adherent, almost the arch-priest, of the War Party. His fellow-members are, first of all, the corps of officers of the German army, a body of 40,000 or 50,000 spurred and epauleted martinets, who have never ceased to pray for war. These gentlemen of the goose-step, through their paramount position in German society, have infected the entire so-called upper class with their belligerent views. The War Party, therefore, includes German uppertendom. It embraces the intellectuals of the Empire—the professorial element at the great universities, the Delbruecks, the Wagners, the Schmollers, the Harnacks, and all the other super-patriots who tread in the path blazed by Treitschke, the prophet of this, Germany's "final reckoning" with Europe.

Following idolatrously in the trail of the political professors are the undergraduates of the 'varsities, or at least that overwhelming majority affiliated with the *Corps*, *Verbindungen*, or *Burschenschaften*, the equivalent of our own fraternities. It was these youthful spirits who have had the sacredness of war drilled into their souls in classroom, who ran shrieking "*Krieg! Krieg!*" through Unter den Linden in the feverish nights preceding the actual launching of the Kaiser's thunderbolts on the East and West. In the War Party, too, are the Prussian Junker in his thousands, the agrarian land barons of Pomerania, East Elbia, Brandenburg, and Silesia—the Germans who look upon themselves as the salt of the Teuton earth, the props of divine right, and the monopolists of power and position in modern Germany. And, last but noisiest, are the arm-chair warriors of the Fatherland, the retired generals and admirals and colonels and naval captains whose very names are a programme and a menace—Bernhardi, Breusing, Reventlow, Frobenius, Keim of the Army League, von Koester of the Navy League, and hundreds less notorious.

If I thus far seem radical in expression and harsh, let me deal forthwith with the sixty-five mute, meek millions of the Fatherland who craved for peace. For years they have been excoriated by the War Party as a craven, corroding influence, destitute of patriotism, ignorant of "the real foundations of German greatness," an element which was retarding the Fatherland in the march to her predestined goal, attainable only by the employment of siege guns and dreadnoughts.

These mute and meek millions, I say, did not want war. They wanted peace and a continuance of the bounding prosperity which had brought Germany to the pinnacle of economic might. They wanted their army and navy to be that which the Kaiser had grandiloquently boasted they were, and only that—bulwarks of peace, not engines of war. These were the sentiments of the German public up to the very hour war descended upon their inoffensive heads. They cared not a fig for Sarajevo beyond the wave of human sympathy and horror which wanton murder always produces. They believed, many of them, that the question as to who should prevail in Europe, German or Slav, must some day find a sanguinary solution; but they did not look upon the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his consort as the occasion for forcing the solution. It was only when the Austrian demands on blood-stained Servia brought Armageddon measurably near—made it, as we have seen, in fact, inevitable—that German public opinion, shrewdly molded, suddenly, reluctantly, came to the conclusion that the conflict between German and Slav might as well be fought out in this year of grace.

I make bold to proclaim that the Germans went into this bloody business with a heavy heart. I heard their reservists singing "Die Wacht am Rhein" as they began their march to death and glory from city, town, and hamlet. I saw flaxen-haired Prussian maidens tossing roses to guards and Uhlans as they started for the front, from which thousands of them will never return. But everywhere and always I found bearing down the spirit of the German, though only infrequently expressed by word of mouth, the sentiment that the war was unnecessary, cruel, unintelligible, that it ought not to have been.

That was in the dread hours immediately preceding the actual outbreak of hostilities with Russia, France, and England. I mean the last days of July, when the issue of

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peace and war hung trembling in the balance. I refer especially to the terror-stricken week of suspense in which the attitude of England remained undefined—the England "which will make our case desperate and hopeless if she intervenes," as scores of my German friends, in accents of despair, said to me times without number. Meantime war came, war not only with Russia and France, which the Germans have never feared, but war with Belgium and with England, which they never expected. Then came to pass a mighty change in German public opinion. "*Feinde ringsum!*" (Foes on all sides!) the battle-cry always sure of rallying all Germans to the country's standard. The spirit of Frederick the Great, the hero of the Seven Years' War against "*Feinde ringsum,*" fired the Empire's soul. The time for parleying and argument, for investigating the whys and wherefores of the case, was gone. The Fatherland was confronted by conditions, not theories. Dubious as it had been about the justification for war, for arresting at a blow the Brobdingnagian development in which it found itself, it became, in less time than overnight, an inflamed, united, war-mad people. It believed implicitly now that the sword had been "forced" into the Kaiser's hand. It believed that Germany, surrounded and enveloped by hostile, envious rivals bent on destroying her prosperity, was now compelled by the iron logic of events to gird on her terrible armor. It was persuaded that the struggle for the Empire's very existence must now at last be fought and to the death. Germans, the business Germans of our modern acquaintance, the scientific, intellectual Germans of tradition, the phlegmatic, beer-drinking, pipe-smoking Germans of our fancies, are all warriors now. They will wage a terrible and gallant fight. They will not stack arms—let the world make no mistake on that score—till the last among them capable of shouldering a rifle is incapacitated, till the last copper pfennig capable of purchasing the munitions of war has vanished from their impoverished grasp.

The War Party, drunk with overweening self-confidence, provoked and produced this war, and dragged the majority of the nation into it. But there is no majority or minority now. William II is Kaiser to-day of a people welded by the sheer dictates of national self-preservation into a nation of war makers. They will not go down to defeat without giving of themselves an account which will make their victorious foes buy triumph dearly.

II—AN AMERICAN IN BERLIN

BY MAURICE PARMELEE

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS AT THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

I ARRIVED in Berlin on July 26. On the way we passed the Imperial train lying upon a side-track at a junction point and apparently awaiting the return of the Kaiser from his vacation trip in Norway. In the Tiergarten and Unter den Linden I passed crowds made up largely of boys and young men who were marching through the streets singing patriotic songs and shouting their defiance of Servia and Russia. Until late at night the streets were thronged with such crowds.

The next day there was much excitement and many demonstrations in the streets. It was evident that the war fever was very much in the air. Much of the excitement which was apparent was doubtless due to more or less irresponsible persons; but, nevertheless, there was danger that such excitement might precipitate a serious crisis.

On the morning of Tuesday, July 28, there appeared notices of numerous meetings of protest against the war with Russia to be held in different parts of the city. Furthermore, the papers published reports that Sir Edward Grey, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, was trying to arrange a conference at London of the representatives of Germany, France, Italy, and England in order, if possible, to prevent the further extension of the war.

That evening, when I came out of a theater, I found a cordon of police across the Friedrichstrasse, barring the way to the Unter den Linden to all except those who had special reasons for going there. A similar condition existed on the other streets leading to the Linden. When I asked a policeman the reason for this, he very wisely answered by shrugging his shoulders and asking how

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he should know, since his business was only to obey orders. When I reached the Linden later, I found it quiet and more or less deserted, very much in contrast to its appearance on previous nights. It seemed to me at first that this policing must have been done in order to check hostile demonstrations against other nations. But the following morning the papers reported that after the meetings of protest against war some of the opponents of war paraded the streets, and in some places clashed against the demonstrators for war, which led to the action of the police. So that apparently the policing was directed against the opponents of war rather than against its advocates.

At about half-past two on the afternoon of Friday, July 31, I was sitting in a café at the corner of the Unter den Linden and the Friedrichstrasse when the cry was raised that the Kaiser was coming. Like every one else in the café, I jumped upon a chair, and soon saw the Kaiser and the Kaiserin in their automobile coming down the Linden in the direction of the royal palace. They were loudly acclaimed by the enormous crowd which filled the street. Behind them came the Kronprinz and the Kronprinzessin, with their little son between them, who were received with even greater enthusiasm. Then followed several more of the sons of the Kaiser and other royal personages. After the royal family came a procession of automobiles containing high military officers and Governmental officials. It was evident that something important was about to happen and that the royal family was making an appeal to the loyalty and patriotism of the people. The crowd, which I joined, fell in behind the royal, military, and official procession and marched to the royal palace.

In the large square in front of the palace was gathered an enormous throng numbering many thousands. Standing there in the hot sun, crowded close together, and most of them with their heads bared, they spent most of the time singing patriotic songs. Over and over again were sung "Die Wacht am Rhein" and "Deutschland über Alles." From time to time royal and other personages came and went from the palace. When the Imperial Chancellor arrived, he was received with a great ovation. The Crown Prince and Crown Princess were heartily cheered when they left.

But the crowd watched with the greatest intentness a balcony high up over the main entrance to the palace. After a time the doors opened, and a stir of expectancy ran through the crowd. But only some palace officials stepped out on the balcony and looked down upon the crowd. Then they stepped back, and two maids came out and with the greatest care wiped off the railing of the balcony and the windows of the door. The crowd watched every movement eagerly; but when the maids had finished their work, they stepped back, and the doors closed again. One—two—three hours passed, and still the crowd, regardless of its discomfort, stood patiently waiting. Finally, at about six o'clock, the doors again opened and the Kaiser appeared upon the balcony. After the cheering had subsided, he read twice over in a loud, clear voice a short speech which he held in his hand. The substance of it was that he had tried to keep the peace, but had been deceived by the Czar, and now might God help the brave German army in the fight. After bowing again to the crowd, he disappeared.

It is impossible to describe adequately this remarkable scene in writing, or indeed in any way. I might say that its principal impression upon me was of its pathos. It was pathetic, in the first place, because of the trust and confidence these people displayed in their Kaiser. It was evident that they depended upon him to decide what to do. But it was pathetic far more because it was evident that they realized that their country was facing a very serious crisis, and this fact awed and probably frightened them. To keep up their courage they stimulated their patriotism by singing patriotic songs and cheering the royal family.

What took place at the conference in the royal palace that afternoon was indicated in part later that evening when an extra appeared stating that the German Government had issued an ultimatum to the Russian Government, and had asked a question of the French Government.

Sunday (August 2) was the first day of mobilization. The railways of the country passed immediately into the hands of the military authorities, to be used for the movement of troops and other military purposes. By about noon on Monday passenger trains had ceased to run, and during the mobilization it was practically impossible for foreigners to leave Berlin, while German civilians were permitted to travel only to the extent that military needs made it possible. The

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public signboards were covered with notices from military and civil authorities. These notices dealt with a great variety of subjects. There were schedules of military trains; announcements of places for the assembling of horses; requests to the public to be on the lookout for spies, and to protect bridges, tunnels, and railways; announcements that the Imperial bank notes are legal tender and must be accepted at face value (gold having disappeared from circulation immediately upon the outbreak of the war); decrees limiting the prices which could be put upon certain necessities of life, etc. In fact, these notices pictured to a considerable extent the conditions caused by a state of war.

In all probability most Germans realized that if war with Russia began, this would also mean war with France. This they seemed to regard as a natural thing because of the relations of the two countries ever since the Franco-Prussian War, and because of France's membership first in the Dual Alliance and then in the Triple Entente. This probably explains why the demonstrations before the war were directed against Russia much more than against France. "*Nieder Russland!*" was heard much more frequently than "*Nieder Frankreich!*" The Germans seemed to feel that the Russians had deceived them, and that in return for a long-continued friendship they were receiving an unmerited return. It is true that in the cries which accompanied the departure of troops during the following week "*Nach Paris!*" was heard much more frequently than "*Nach Petersburg!*" However, this was probably due, in the first place, to the fact that in the first part of the war the German military operations have been directed against France much more than against Russia, and, in the second place, to a reminiscence of the Franco-Prussian War.

Reports of fighting along the French border came about as soon as the beginning of the war with Russia. According to the German newspapers, the French were the aggressors in these conflicts. It is as yet impossible to know with certainty who were the first aggressors, since the other side publish contradictory reports. It is, however, certain that the Germans made the first important aggressive move by going into Belgium. At any rate, diplomatic relations with France were broken very soon, and the war was on with France as well as Russia.

The temper of the people now seemed to become more serious and more united. As has been indicated, a few days earlier there had been many hostile demonstrations towards Russia and France, probably carried on principally by more or less irresponsible persons. These now ceased in the main. Furthermore, there had been considerable opposition to the war. This disappeared entirely, at least so far as public expression was concerned. The press was immediately put under a rigorous censorship, which doubtless put a stop to any attempted criticism of the war. All the parties soon expressed their support of the Government in the war. In the vast majority of Germans, doubtless, a strong patriotic feeling was aroused by the belief that their country had been unjustly attacked, and that in any case it must be defended. Their interest was manifested by the huge crowds which thronged the streets especially in the evening in search of news. The leading papers issued numerous special editions, many of which were distributed free, and whenever an automobile bearing one of these editions appeared, there was a mad rush which resulted in the street becoming littered with paper.

A very important question still remained to be answered, and that was as to what England would do. It was known that as a member of the Triple Entente England might enter the war. At the same time there was a good deal of speculation as to whether the English love of peace would not keep her out of the war. On the afternoon of Monday, August 3, Sir Edward Grey made a speech [already commented upon in The Outlook] in the House of Commons, which was reported in Germany the following day and was read with great interest. This speech was received in Germany with many denunciations of Grey in particular and England in general. This is to be explained in the main probably by the excited condition of the German public. It was also encouraged by reports which had already been published the day before to the effect that French military air-ships had flown over Belgium and Holland, thus violating the neutrality of these countries. (So far as I know, these reports have never been confirmed, and are denied in Belgium and Holland.) During the evening of Tuesday an extra appeared, announcing that at about seven in the evening the English Ambassador had gone to the Foreign Office and had asked for his passports. This statement made war with England almost certain. Soon

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after a mob gathered in front of the English Embassy and smashed the windows. About midnight appeared an extra announcing that England had declared war against Germany.

For several days thereafter it was dangerous to speak English on the streets. Most of the Americans appeared with American flags in their buttonholes in order to avoid being taken for English. The *Spionenjagd*, or hunt for spies, which had been carried on eagerly and enthusiastically against the Russians and French, was now turned against the English as well. Russian and French names and signs had been disappearing for some days, and now the English also began to go. Numerous storekeepers were to be seen scraping Russian, French, and English signs from their windows. The Café Boncourt became the Kurfürstendam Kaffeehaus. The Piccadilly Café became the Vaterland Kaffeehaus. In the window of a clothing store which I passed every day there appeared a sign from the proprietor stating that, even though he had sold English clothing for twenty-four years, he was a patriotic German and had two sons in the army and would sell no more English clothing. In the window of a store in which American typewriters were sold appeared a sign that only machines of American make were sold, and only Germans were in the employ of the firm. Even the menu began to change its appearance, and purely German expressions took the place of the foreign.

On Wednesday, August 5, not only the English Ambassador but the Belgian diplomatic representative as well left Berlin, and on Thursday it was announced that Belgium had declared war against Germany. This was, of course, due to the German invasion of Belgium which had now taken place. It seemed to be fully expected and therefore was apparently little noticed by the public.

On the evening of Friday came the report, officially confirmed, that the city and forts of Liège were taken. This report caused great jubilation and gave rise to the feeling that there was little in the way of the march to Paris. It was not until after I left Germany that I learned the truth about Liège. It is very doubtful if the General Staff made any statements with regard to the fighting at Liège which were not strictly accurate. But the reports which reached the public were of such a nature as to rouse a degree of confidence which must have led to much disappointment later on when the march to Paris did not progress as rapidly as was expected. One German gentleman of very highstrung temperament told me that he could not sleep from the time the war began until after the so-called victory of Liège, when he slept peacefully in the assurance that the German soldiers would win.

One indication of the Germans' hostility to foreigners growing out of their feeling that Germany was attacked unjustly by other countries was seen in the *Spionenjagd*, which would have been ridiculous if it had not been so serious. The military authorities and the press asked the people to be on the lookout for spies. This request had its effect far beyond all expectations. For some days every German in Berlin seemed on the hunt for spies. Numerous Russians, French, and English who were so unfortunate as to be in Berlin and unable to leave were seized by mobs, and would in many cases have been seriously injured if it had not been for the quick action of the police. Also many other foreigners as well, among them a number of Americans, had similar experiences. And even quite a number of Germans, among them officers and soldiers, were suspected. One day on the Jägerstrasse I saw an enormous crowd containing thousands of persons gather around some soldiers whom somebody had suspected. It was not until the police could make their way through the crowd and rescue the soldiers that the excitement subsided. On another occasion I was passing by a railway station late in the evening when some one raised the cry that spies were to be found in a certain house. A large crowd gathered immediately, and it was not until a visit was made to a neighboring police station, where apparently the police officers succeeded in persuading the crowd to desist from the hunt, that the crowd dispersed. I heard one German in this crowd, more self-controlled than the rest, urging those around him to quiet themselves, and saying that it was not like the Germans to act in this way. And it was indeed true that on many occasions during these days the traditional phlegmatic Teutonic temperament seemed to disappear and to be replaced temporarily by the more excitable Latin temperament.

However, the police seemed to do their duty well, and prevented serious injury on most if not all occasions. The military authorities, and the press also, probably realizing that their request to the people had had too great an effect, issued warnings that the hunt for spies

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be not carried on so ardently and that order in general be kept more carefully. Furthermore, the orderliness which is drilled into the Germans doubtless asserted itself and assisted greatly in quelling the excitement.

Within a day or two after the mobilization began many soldiers were marching through the streets on their way to the war. There were regiments of infantry, troops of cavalry, batteries of artillery, and long lines of forage, ammunition, and hospital wagons. At first these soldiers were greeted with loud cheers, and both soldiers and spectators joined in singing "Die Wacht am Rhein," "Deutschland über Alles," and "Unser Kaiser," and in crying out "*Auf wiedersehen!*" "*Nach Paris!*" and "*Nach Petersburg!*" But as the days passed the troops were watched more and more in silence. This was doubtless due in part to the fact that the sight had become a wonted one. But it was probably also due in part to the fact that the war was becoming a very grave and living reality which was touching the life of the people very seriously.

The mobilization of the German army was indeed a remarkable sight. The General Staff, for obvious reasons, gave out no figures with regard to the number of men in the field. But it was said that by the end of the six days of mobilizing there were over three million men along the French and Belgian borders and a lesser number along the Russian border. And yet these millions of men were equipped and moved to the front with an orderliness and precision which indicated long and careful preparation.

The days of mobilizing ended on Friday, August 7, though troops will, of course, continue to move until the end of the war. On Saturday a few passenger trains began to run on a more or less regular but very slow schedule. This was a great relief to many Americans and other foreigners who were anxious to leave Germany.

Berlin, August 11.

THE ENGLISH POINT OF VIEW

WE have seen nowhere a better statement of Great Britain's attitude in the European crisis than that made in the following editorial from the London "Spectator" of August 8. It may well be that what our fellow-citizens of German ancestry call America's lack of sympathy with Germany is due to a subconscious fear of the world danger which would result from the supremacy of Germany's view of war as defined by the "Spectator:"

The great war has come. "Why has it come?" is the bewildered question of all English men and women. How does it happen that within a week Germany and Austria-Hungary are at war with France, with Russia, with Britain, with Servia, with Belgium, and that it is exceedingly likely that to the list will have to be added Holland, Switzerland, and Denmark, and, later, Italy, Rumania, and Greece? People have begun to realize pretty generally that Germany brought on the war, or, at any rate, when Austria-Hungary had brought it on by what *appeared* to be her rash act, did not stop it, as undoubtedly she could have stopped it had she chosen. Why, instead of calming down the Austrians, and claiming our aid, which we were only too eager to give, in calming down Russia and France, did Germany never once show any real anxiety to get Europe out of so bad a business? Putting the most favorable construction that we possibly can upon the behavior of the German Government, that Government showed from the beginning a complete cynicism as to the result. The very most that can be said in Germany's favor is that she exhibited at first a certain diplomatic respectability in regard to the stages by which the world slid into war. "But," it will be said, "your suggestion that Germany made the war is incomprehensible, and must remain so unless you can also suggest some explanation for her action. What was her object? Why did she play the part she has played?"

Our answer is one which we feel bound to give because we believe it, even though it may seem to a section of our readers unjust to Germany. We believe Germany made the war, and made it because she feared that unless war came now she might have to give up her strongest national aspiration—the aspiration to be a great world Power, dominant in Europe, with vast dependencies abroad, and able to command the sea, or at any rate to be possessed of naval strength

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greater than that of every other Power but Britain, with the certain prospect of equaling Britain in the future, and of developing eventually into the predominant naval State. That is Germany's aspiration, that is what she thinks it worth while to have set the world in flames to get. For, remember, she does not think, as most people here do, that she is running too terrible a risk to make such conduct sound. Rightly or wrongly, Germany believes she has the strength, if she acts at the proper moment, and if her people are ready and willing, as doubtless they are, to make the necessary sacrifices to fulfill her dream of world-power.

But why did she think the present so favorable a moment? We believe that some feeling—we will not call it panic, because that suggests cowardice, and the Germans are a very gallant race—seized her as to the magnificence of the opportunity offered by the existing state of Europe. She thought the situation was going to develop unfavorably in the future, and that she, in fact, was now on the crest of the wave. What made her think this? In the first place, and we believe that this has all along played an enormously important part, there was the opening of the Kiel Canal. A month ago that canal was finished. There has always been an undercurrent of feeling in Germany that the moment the canal was made deep enough and wide enough to take Germany's war fleet she would have gained an incalculable advantage both as regards Russia and as regards Britain. People here may be inclined to think this is an exaggeration, but, at any rate, we are sure that the Germans believe they have an enormous advantage in the canal. The next consideration was the belief that England was on the verge of civil war, and therefore that her neutrality was almost certainly assured. Again, there was the belief, encouraged by the disclosures in the French Senate, that France was at that moment very badly prepared for war. Lastly, there was the very potent impression that Russia was every day getting stronger, and that if Germany waited for another three years the advantages just named might be obliterated by vast increases in the Russian armaments, and especially in the development of her strategic railways. To put the thing in another way, we believe that the real cause of the war was that Germany was seized by one of those impulses which are prompted by the thought of "Now or never!"—impulses which are the most frequent cause of war. War is so terrible a thing, the risks are so awful, and so pessimistic are most statesmen as to the possibilities of maintaining peace, that those of them who have been trained in the school of *Realpolitik* would hold it a crime not to strike whenever they were convinced that their nation had a preponderance of power. To lose the golden opportunity seems in their eyes as wrong as suicide seems to the individual.

If that is the true view, Germany could easily find an excuse for war, much as she found it in 1866 and in 1870, by making use of Austria-Hungary's perennial quarrel with Servia. What seems to encourage the view that the attack upon Servia was intended to produce a world-wide rather than a local effect is, we think, the curious fact that Austria-Hungary has made so little progress in the Servian war. Considering her great military strength at the *locus in quo*, and the fact that the best part of her army is always ready for instant action in Bosnia and Herzegovina and on the Danubian frontier, it is almost incredible that Austria-Hungary should not yet have got into Servian territory. If, however, her object as the ally of Germany was to bring on a European war rather than to punish Servia, she would very naturally not wish to commit her troops to any big adventure in Servia. Having lighted the torch there, they would be wanted for far more serious work elsewhere. All, then, that would be required in Servia would be just the frontier guards necessary to prevent serious Servian raiding in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We fully admit that, put out in cold blood, the view we have given of the origin of the war sounds incredible. Our defense of it is that at least it does supply the only explanation that has yet been suggested, except that of pure panic, which will meet the facts. Indeed, the panic suggestion is really the same as our suggestion, only expressed in somewhat different terms, and not carried so far. The German Government is not a Government which acts from panic in the true sense. It acts from calculation, though, of course, in that calculation the dread of consequences plays its part. And here let us say that in writing as we have done about Germany we do not wish to make any sanctimonious accusations of diabolical wickedness or special criminality. In such matters,

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though it is, we confess, very difficult to judge justly, we must judge people by their own standard and not by ours; and we are bound to admit that Germany can stand that test. We do not believe that the great bulk of the German people—we are not now speaking of Germans affected by English thought, or anxious to assume a position which will find sympathizers in England—would really regard our view as unfair.

Germany thinks that she has got a great mission. She does not think war a crime, though of course she thinks it a misfortune, and, still further, she thinks of it as an instrument of policy, and not merely as the last resort in a conflict of wills. Therefore it does not seem to her unnatural, or mad, or wicked to make war on the lines we have described. We are not going to be judges in our own cause by talking about special acts of wickedness. We do, however, say that a Power which holds the views of war which we have ascribed, and as we believe quite properly ascribed, to Germany, is a terrible danger to the world. It may be that Providence intends the German idea of war to prevail and German aspirations to be fulfilled. We do not think it is so, but if it is then so it will be. Meanwhile it is our duty to use every effort and every weapon at our disposal to confute the German view and save the freedom of Europe and of the world. We are not going to become a vassal State of Germany, even if that position might still secure for a generation or so our wealth and nominal independence, without a hard struggle. We may warn the Germans that we shall fight as we have never fought before in our history, and that if they think, as there seem some indications that they do, that when we are tired of the war we may be induced to abandon our allies and make peace for ourselves, they are utterly mistaken. Whatever happens, we shall not act thus. Having begun the war, we shall fight it through till we are either victors or else have been destroyed as a nation. If we perish, it will be with the feeling that we have fallen with our honor and our good faith intact.

WHAT READERS OF THE OUTLOOK THINK OF THE WAR

The Outlook has received a great many letters from its readers containing expressions of opinion on the causes and probable outcome of the war in Europe, some incidentally approving and others finding fault with The Outlook's editorial interpretation of the situation. Obviously it would be impossible to publish all of these, but below are extracts from some of the more interesting letters.—THE EDITORS.

. . . The sympathy expressed for the German people and the criticism against their Government is entirely inconsistent with the thought of the German nation: the people and their Government are one in this great fight against Slavism and barbarism. There is absolutely no question in my mind but that Germany is waging the fight single-handed for the entire civilized world against the aggression of the Russian horde. HENRY C. SCHEER.

Glen Ridge, New Jersey.

. . . You entirely miss the point. It is a question of Teutonic supremacy, synonymous with enlightenment, or Muscovite rule, equivalent to oppression; and it is the Muscovite rule England and France are endeavoring to fasten on Europe by their assistance. . . .

Cleveland, Ohio. A. J. GAEHR.

. . . Do you suppose for one moment that a Government like that of Germany, having built up a strong and prosperous nation, would not know better than attempt to make Belgium and Holland Germanic provinces and reduce Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, and England to subordinate positions? How long could such an experiment last? Please also note that the German Emperor and his Government have a united Germany following them into this war, including the four million Socialists, which is a sure sign of the general belief that the war from the German point of view is a just war. . . . HERMAN P. ROEPER.

Reading, Pennsylvania.

. . . If I am correctly informed, this war is the greatest crime of the ages; its lesson

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to the twentieth century is to show humanity the stupendous stupidity of one hundred millions of intelligent beings putting their lives and that of their families in the hands and at the disposal of two men of questionable sanity to be used with as little consideration as a Kansas farmer gives to his grasshoppers. . . . What became of the sons of German patriots that ran from Europe in 1848 to escape such conditions as now exist?

Glens Falls, New York. L. P. JUVET.

. . . What will be the effect? It will probably be that England and Germany, madly believing that each is the other's worst enemy, will very soon jump at each other's throats with a degree of bitterness unparalleled, leaving perhaps other foes at rest in order to grapple with each other in this horrifying struggle. Each combatant is strong and may inflict on the other wounds that will take a long time to heal. Even the victor may be a loser. The Slav and Oriental will rejoice in the fall of the mighty. It is all a tremendous blunder, a blunder in the statesmanship of both countries. The only possible alliance which can guarantee the peace of Europe is one between England and Germany, hitherto the greatest powers on sea and land respectively. Will they be able to see this after the fight? It is much to be hoped they will, and that they may have strength enough left to command the other nations to be at peace.

Ithaca, New York. ALBERT B. FAUST.

I have just read your statement "The War Against Popular Rights," and take the liberty to say that I am pained and grieved at the misstatement of the matters and affairs in Europe. The author of the statement cannot have knowledge of history, or he deliberately distorts to create sympathy.

"Austria wanted Servia," he says, when he should have known that Servian independence was obtained mainly by the good will of Austria; that the continued agitation and inciting to revolts and insurrection, emanating from the secure retreat in Servia, led to the assassination in Bosnia by a Servian, with Servian arms from the State armory, and that the denial of the demand of Austria to have a representative at the trial of the conspirators against peace and order in Austria-Hungary caused the declaration of war. H. A. BUTZOW.

Watseka, Illinois

I wish to express warmest appreciation of your editorial on "The War Against Popular Rights." It sets forth the real gist of the war in a most able and illuminating manner. The issue is between militarism and civilianism. Should Germany win a triumphant victory, the whole world in due time will be turned into a military camp. Her writers have revealed only too plainly in what contempt she holds the Monroe Doctrine. Let her get the mastery of the seas, and America will be driven to double her navy. It has been the English navy more than ours that has compelled outward respect for that Doctrine. If any scouts the idea, let him observe how Germany trampled every principle of justice under foot and robbed China of one of her finest harbors—Tsingtau—with much territory besides—one of the most high-handed political crimes that history records.

St. Paul, Minnesota. JAMES WALLACE.

. . . Why should England have the supremacy of the sea? Should it not be a highway where our ships or German ships or any other ships can go unmolested? In fact, I fear the time will come when we, too, like Germany, will find that to protect our commerce we will have to fight, because England's present attitude is doubtless due to her feeling that Germany is crowding her in the markets of the world. When she finds that we are crowding her, she will be ready to combine with Jap or Turk against us. . . .

Warrenton, Missouri. HENRY VOSHOLL.

I have just read the August 15 number of The Outlook, and was greatly interested in your article on "The War Against Popular Rights." Your views on the European war are the views of ninety-five per cent of the people of East Tennessee who appreciate the brave struggle of little Servia against her infinitely selfish and egotistical antagonist, Austria, and heartily sympathize with the small but liberty-loving nations south of the Danube. . . . The almost inevitable result of this war will be the downfall of the Hohenzollern dynasty amidst the lamentations and execrations of the mothers left childless, the wives left husbandless, the children left fatherless, and a people humiliated, crushed, and defeated. L. C. FORD.

Harrogate, Tennessee.

I wish to commend very highly the spirit of your war editorials in your issue of August

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15, which emphasized so much the guiding hand of God in the affairs of nations.

Such editorials will do much to bring about a peace of mind and to strengthen shaken faiths in this world crisis.

Chicago, Illinois. F. M. DUCKLES.

One of the great facts in history has been the pressure of the semi-barbaric people of the East against the civilization of the West. Every school-boy knows this; but The Outlook makes no account in its editorial of the almost inevitable conflict between Slav and Teuton. If the fervent wish of your editor is gratified, and Germany is crushed, is it not probable that Russia will be the only permanent beneficiary of the war? After France has the lost provinces and England has destroyed the German fleet which has caused her so much hysteria, and recovered the markets which the Germans won in fair competition, then what? Why not Russia in possession of most of Austria and the Balkans, perhaps under the alias of "Greater Servia;" then a rest, then Turkey and Persia; then, after another rest, India; and, in the fullness of time, all of Europe she desires? Who can stop her on land with Germany crushed?

It may be in the providence of God the Slav will have so developed as to be worthy of the mastery of the world by that day; but it ill becomes Anglo-Saxons in this hour to uphold his hands and further his plan by sword or pen.

ROBERT M. E. SCHAUFFLER, M.D.

Kansas City, Missouri.

Among the many problems suggested by the present war in Europe not the least interesting is the question of its final effect upon government. The opinion is often expressed that a costly and devastating war must have a blighting effect upon democratic institutions. At first sight this view seems plausible, but the course of history, I think, teaches us precisely the contrary.

Certainly for the defeated nation the post-bellum period has more than once proved a period of political regeneration. Take Prussia. Utterly crushed beneath the heel of Napoleon, she emancipated her serfs. Not surely from motives of sweet Christian charity, but because a freeman is a better fighter than a slave. Take France. Her downfall in 1870 involved an abolition of the Empire and a return to the Republic. Take Russia. It is assuredly no accident that she secured her first parliament after her repulse at the hands of the Japanese. Even in backward Turkey there are signs that the repeated losses of territory have fed a feeble but perfectly genuine movement toward reform.

Does the great moral law apply also to nations? He that loses his life shall find it.

Tuscaloosa, Alabama. M. C. BURKE.

Your editorial "The War Against Popular Rights," in The Outlook for August 15, shows such a misunderstanding of the past and present conditions, such a twisting of historical facts and inconsequent reasoning, that I cannot help but criticise the same severely.

According to your version of the present European war, Emperor William is the "goat." If Germany wanted war, why did she not begin one while the English had their hands full in the Transvaal, or Russia in the Far East? If the German Emperor is such a brute as you describe him, why is the emigration from Germany so much less now than it was at the beginning of his reign? If it was not the German Emperor who kept the peace of Europe in the past twenty-five years, who has kept it? It would be absolute calumny to accuse him of wanting war. . . . The Germans love their Emperor. They like authority, and their country looks orderly. The American dislikes authority, and his country shows the dislike. Suppose the Chinese or Japanese should threaten to overwhelm the United States, as the Slavs do Austria and Germany, what a howl to arms would rise at once in the face of such danger! You speak of Germany violating Belgium's neutrality. How about Dr Jamieson's raid into the Transvaal? The occupation of the Transvaal, Egypt, Tibet, by the British? Of China and Persia by Russia? Of New Mexico and Arizona by the United States? To-day England would be only too glad to grab the Panama Canal. . . .

The talk of arbitration in this war shows that those who are talking entirely fail to grasp the situation. No doubt England would like to arbitrate and leave Germany and Austria in the *statu quo*. Arbitration would do about as much good as it would have done to arbitrate the Civil War. Bernard Shaw has let the cat out of the bag by declaring that "the English do not want a Germany of Bismarck, but one of Beethoven and Goethe." Of course they do not want a

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Germany that amounts to something. They want a Germany that is sterile and does not amount to anything. They would like a Germany that furnishes music and poetry for them and the rest of the world, while England goes after the commerce and the colonies. Very altruistic indeed on the part of John Bull!

In writing this letter to your esteemed publication I am voicing, I sincerely believe, the sentiments of the majority of patriotic Austrians and Germans. They love their bride, the United States, and they honor their mother, Austria and Germany.

Sparta, Michigan. KARL GREINER, M.D.

I ask you, is French militarism not surpassing any German tendencies along this line? or is the difference between classes and castes, between pride of purse and birth, any less dominant in England than in Germany or Austria? It is true that the Emperor of Germany enjoys some prerogatives which are incompatible with true democracy; but, despite that, democracy can hardly be said to be less advanced in Germany than in Great Britain. To make it appear that an autocrat (the German Emperor), urged by overweening pride and ambition, seeks to halt popular liberty and social development by this war, you must leave out of consideration that the autocrat *par excellence*, the Czar, is fighting with the Allies, and that the German nation is rallying solidly around its leader.

It is not only fair, but also wise, to hear the other side! Germany would not consider this a fight for its very existence if it were not that England's envy of her commercial prosperity and France's spirit of revenge, frequently manifested, forced the sword into her unwilling hands after more than forty years of peace.

Hamburg, New York. H. M. WIESECKE.

I read your editorial in the last Outlook *in re* the war in Europe. It was all that I could have wished to have The Outlook say on the subject. It was in the line of my thought, but much better expressed than I could have put it. The one thing I am deeply interested in is that those three criminal war lords shall be put in the pillory of universal reprobation, so that they will all be forced by the public sentiment of the world to agree to such amendments to their respective Constitutions as will make it impossible that any one of them can repeat the iniquity of which they have been guilty in precipitating this accursed war on those poor working-people, who are the ones to pay the price in their blood. I hope The Outlook won't let up on them.

Kerrville, Texas. J. F. JOHNSTON.

WAR NOTES

Among the volunteers accepted for service in the French army at a recent examination were twenty-two Americans, who were complimented by the examiners on their splendid physical condition.

Instead of motoring, golfing, and playing tennis, wealthy Americans with villas on the Normandy coast are helping the old men, women, and children of the native population get in the harvest.

The war has of course hurt the business of the Panama Canal, and during the first week of its operation only sixteen ships passed through the big waterway. Fourteen of these were American, one being an army transport *en route* from San Francisco to Europe to bring home stranded Americans.

A note of optimism and encouragement comes from the Banking Department of the State of New York, which reports that the condition of the savings banks of the State is better than it has been since the war began. Depositors who withdrew their savings during the first panicky days are putting them back, and a general feeling of confidence seems to prevail.

The news comes from London that, in the fear that Germany may lose her trade with the United States, German merchants have published a booklet in English called "The Truth about Germany. Facts about the War." This pamphlet, which praises Americans and praises German commerce, is being distributed among Americans in Germany.

Aeroplanes have taken the part of carrier pigeons, and the English people have been asked to be on the lookout for messages dropped from the sky by England's aviators, for forwarding to the proper authorities.

According to an interview with the Minister of Agriculture and Industry of Holland, published in a Dutch newspaper, the supply of wheat and flour in Holland is sufficient to last only two or three weeks, and it is feared that unless traffic becomes easier in the North Sea

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the Dutch may soon be in a precarious condition.

Among the passengers on the White Star liner Celtic, which sailed from New York for Liverpool on August 20, was Dr. Dorothy V. Smiley, surgeon in the Royal Medical Corps, and one of the few women in the British army. Dr. Smiley had been ordered to report for duty.

New developments and applications of international and maritime law are expected from the unique libel suit which the Guaranty Trust Company of New York has begun against the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, asking for damages of more than a million dollars because the liner Kronprinzessin Cecilie recently landed $5,000,000 gold of the trust company at Bar Harbor, Maine, instead of at London. It is alleged that it was altogether unnecessary for the Cecilie to turn back as she did when within about 900 miles of the coast of England.

The Hamburg American Steamship Company has offered to lend the steamship Prinz Joachim to the American Red Cross for sixty days for the cost of operation of the vessel. The liner is now in New York.

One effect of Japan's ultimatum to Germany was to lead Lloyds to increase the war risk on Japanese vessels to 6.3 per cent, the highest quoted up to the time it was done—August 20.

Scotch woolen manufacturers fear that the war will drive them into bankruptcy, as a large part of their business has been done with Germany.

According to the London "Daily Mail," since the war began nearly fifty English trade and sporting papers have gone out of business, some permanently.

Dr. Alexis Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research of New York, is now at the head of a large hospital where wounded French soldiers are cared for. In a letter to a friend Dr. Carrel is reported as saying: "I am seeking men ready literally to give their blood for transfusions to wounded soldiers. Already I have found a doctor and an attorney and hope soon to have several others."

The effect of the war on American opera remains problematical. If newspaper reports can be trusted, nearly all the great male Wagnerian singers have taken the field for Germany. The usual summer preparations for the season are going on at the Metropolitan Opera-House in New York, however, and directors of the house seem to be hopeful that their staff of singers will not be greatly depleted by the call to arms.

Automobile manufacturers in America do not seem to be greatly disturbed by general business depression. They express the belief that the enforced cessation of automobile building abroad will create a large foreign demand for machines made in America.

To aid our overworked ambassadors abroad through the crisis which they are now facing, the State Department has asked for Congressional authorization of the temporary appointment of diplomatic secretaries-at-large.

Assistant Secretary of War Henry S. Breckinridge is traveling through Europe at high speed distributing among Americans the gold taken over in the cruiser Tennessee. A despatch to the New York "World" from Berlin says that Mr. Breckinridge made the trip to that city from Holland on a special train in thirteen hours, the usual time being thirty-three hours. His car, it is said, was attached to the special train of a high German official.

As an emergency measure Germany has ordered that all her male subjects between the ages of sixteen and nineteen shall be put through a course of musketry and military training under the instruction of retired officers. If they are called upon to fight, particularly in defense of their homes, these youthful legions may prove to be as formidable as the "minute boys" of '76 or as the cadets of Chapultepec.

At the request of the German Socialist Federation the Socialist party in America has appealed to the Government to seize all abattoirs, storage warehouses, grain elevators, "and other sources of supply of the necessaries of life, in order that the war in Europe may be stopped through lack of supplies to the warring nations." Shipments of food from the United States to countries engaged in the international conflict, by the way, apparently are being made already on a large scale. In beginning an investigation into the activities of agents of Chicago packers, United States District Attorney Wilkerson expressed the belief that Chicagoans alone have shipped 10,000,000 pounds of meat into Canada since the war began. Recently 36,000,000 cold-storage eggs went to Liverpool on the steamship New York, of the American Line, and it is reported that France has asked quotations on 25,000,000 pockets of Louisiana rice.

The American Red Cross has sent a telegram to the Mayors of twenty-seven large cities in the United States appealing for funds. Among other things the telegram states: "Personnel and equipment ready, but funds desperately needed to secure ship and purchase additional supplies."

Lord Kitchener has forbidden the use of all wine and spirits by the British troops at the front.

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THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE FUTURE POPE

BY PAUL SABATIER

This article, written for The Outlook in 1911, when the death of Pope Pius X was daily expected, is now first printed. With the omission of some passages which related especially to conditions at that time, the article is as significant an interpretation of the situation in the Roman Catholic Church now as then. While Paul Sabatier is not a Roman Catholic, his birth, his education, and his love for all that is beautiful in the history of Catholicism have given him a profound knowledge of the internal spirit and forces of the Roman Catholic Church and a sincere sympathy with the progressive movement in that Church. He achieved an international reputation among both Catholics and Protestants on the publication in 1893 of his now famous "Life of St. Francis of Assisi." The only considerable Catholic criticism of Sabatier's delineation of St. Francis is, not that he is unsympathetic with the saint's Catholicism, but that it lays too much emphasis upon his progressive and "modernist" spirit and overestimates the opposition which he met from the reactionary party of the Church of his day.—THE EDITORS.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the receipt of the telegram from The Outlook asking me to set forth my ideas regarding a successor to Pope Pius X came a letter from an eminent prelate, a man who for two decades has been one of the most zealous collaborators for intellectual, moral, and religious renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church, urging me to give to the public a résumé of the long conversations I have had with him, both alone and in company with a small group of his colleagues, regarding Leo XIII and Pius X, the part that the Papacy plays on the world's stage to-day, and its probable future.

The following sentiments, therefore, are not simply my own personal ideas; they are the ideas of the age, and the ideas which, in Latin countries, dominate the élite of the clergy.

On June 1 (1911), that is to say, at a time when no one could foresee the rapid change that was to take place in the health of the Pope, a friend of mine, long intimate with his Holiness, and who had had occasion to see him every month during his accession to the Papacy, said to me:

The Holy Father is not suffering from any particular malady that one might characterize, but he is profoundly shaken in the very sources of life; discouraged, embittered, pining for fresh air and liberty—that's all. He has never been able to overcome his deep-seated antipathy against ceremonial and empty form. On every occasion he aims to make his language clear, and he feels disturbed and nervous when he finds himself misunderstood. On several occasions he has shed tears over the condition in Spain, exclaiming, "What do they want of me? I have done my duty!"

It is his faith that still upholds him; the conviction that he was chosen of God; he, who in the eyes of the world is so little qualified for the exalted position he holds, he has been chosen by God to spread his glory and truth throughout the world. That which Pius X does is not done by him alone, but by the grace of God working through him. Having subdued all thoughts of self, Pius X lives only for what he conceives to be the wish of God and the glorification of his Church.

He believes in this glorification; he expects it with the perfect and candid confidence of a child who does not interpret things spiritually, who never thinks in symbols. He not only expects it; he prepares for it by his attitude of simple, pious faith. In his imagination the glorification of the Church and the reign of God are coincident with the disappearance of sects and the conversion of certain monarchs who will at last take up arms in the service of the good cause. The Holy Father has always interpreted literally the conversations he has had with Emperor William II. In his humility he has never taken to himself any of the homage of the German Emperor, interpreting it as an act of implicit and expected loyalty to the spiritual power which alone can anoint crowned heads and safeguard their thrones.

Misgiving has not ruffled his soul; but he

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feels weary, tired; and perhaps he has more than once turned to God in the words of Elias: "Enough, Lord; take now my soul!"

The agitation aroused in Germany in 1910 against the authority of Rome has been the crowning sorrow of his pontificate. In a few days he aged as though ten years had passed by. His spirit was not broken; but he no longer has the conviction he had had formerly of the near and brilliant victory of divine authority against the forces of evil.

Against the French Government and against Modernism he battled with growing enthusiasm, for he saw victory "with the eyes of his flesh," if I may be permitted to speak thus. Without wholly opposing Germany and France, he comforted himself because of the misdemeanors of the former, counting on the return of the latter to the fold, and expecting the prodigal daughter to return at once to take the place of the elder daughter. Instead, occurred the violent demonstrations which had their center and their inspiration at Berlin.

The disappointment was grievous; and the more cruel because it coincided with several sad experiences of the Holy Father concerning a number of men whom he had believed to be more loyal to his ideas than to himself personally. He found in them but little moral and religious strength, and this lack caused him great sorrow.

These are the causes which have so vitally undermined the health of Pius X. It may be that he will go on for two or three years longer, but if so it will truly be a miracle.

I have endeavored thus to reproduce, as faithfully as possible, my remembrance of this conversation, because it indirectly sketches, so to speak, a moral silhouette of the Sovereign Pontiff. It explains this paradoxical man—so gentle that he does not venture to ask his own cook not to scramble his eggs too hard, and yet so determined that he does not hesitate to impose his wish on the Episcopate, to disregard the advice of his Cardinals, and to stand alone in his most important resolutions.

The deep and universal agitation produced by the announcements of the ill health of the Pope is an indication that the world is concerned, not alone with the death of Giuseppe Sarto and the question of his successor, but with the realization of the fact that the Papacy is passing through a crisis, and that the institution which since the year 1870 has seemed to attain its highest point of logical perfection may be on the verge of unforeseen changes.

One might say that, except at Rome and in the immediate vicinity of the Cardinals, the personal question is lost in the contemplation of more serious considerations.

It would be idle to waste time in speculating on the chances of various Cardinals, as the newspapers delight in doing. A Conclave rarely achieves the predictions of the thoughtless and innumerable prophets who announce results. Even those who are present at a pontifical election are puzzled when they come to tell or write of it. They know the facts only in part, they are misled by current opinion, by intrigue, influences, and end by endowing anecdotes with a value they do not possess.

If one could examine the politico-ecclesiastical considerations awakened by the prospect of the death of Pius X, one might enumerate them in a single phrase, put into circulation, if I mistake not, by an eminent Italian prelate—"the internationalization of the tiara."

But I wish to go a step farther, and above all, to probe deeper, in order to reveal the thoughts that have been bred here and there in the consciousness of the Roman Catholic world. In other words, I wish to approach the question of the succession of Pius X in its religious aspect.

To maintain government by divine right without fear and without reproach, without palliation or concession, with a decision and a frankness which command respect; to impose forcibly on all Catholics the affirmation that the concrete and historical Church has all the rights which the ideal Church, directed by God in person, could have; to assume that absolute theological dogma should take the place of the political and scientific efforts of the world; to regard the static formulas of logicians as concealing on all sides the reality of life; to conceive of the Church, not as a working association to point the way towards broader horizons, but as a means of saving intellectual toil; to transform unconditional and absolute submission into religious virtue; to create a system in which the cure thinks for his parishoners, the bishop for his cures, the Pope for his bishops; to believe that union with the Apostolic See is greater than all the rest, replaces all, is all-sufficient—that there is in traditional Catholic thought the germ of all this I should hesitate to deny.

But there is more besides. In bringing these points into pronounced relief by schisms more violent, perhaps, than those of Luther, the present Pope has essentially altered the

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tradition of the Church and narrowed its horizon.

Perhaps this phase of experience was necessary to the development of the Church. At all events, it is so far advanced that it is to be hoped it may run its course to the end.

Pius X will never waver before the consequences of his doctrines. In him and through him the mechanical idea of the Church will give battle upon issues before which all other Popes would have quailed, sought evasions and conciliation, and have lost.

And such a rout does not lack grandeur. One may have ideas entirely opposed to those of Pius X, but, knowing him, one cannot but admire the obstinacy with which, alone, personally unregretful and unconscious, he goes his way, without even taking heed of the warnings of his *confrères*, piling up the ruins about him.

Strange, is it not, that while the Pope follows this course, which he can never retrace, some bishops and a large number of loyal Catholics find in the traditions of their Church a totally different inspiration: a need of communion so strong, so suffused with reality, that the eucharistic communion seems to them but a preface to real communion with men, their brothers. The life of the Church becomes for them a part of the day's experience, an experience which has neither beginning nor end, but is a continual growth, a perpetual progression. For them, loyalty to the truth is not the passive acceptance of a proposition to which one submits without understanding it; it is the mysterious act of a man longing for the good to be and asserting it through his mind and his acts. Francis d'Assisi, Philip de Neri, Joan of Arc, and Pascal, among a host of others, are characters toward which they strive. They constitute a lineage which has a peculiar value.

While this movement follows its course within the Church proper, without, in the midst of Protestantism and liberal thought, a new order of things manifests itself. There, religious hatreds have greatly diminished; even the current speech bears traces of this amelioration of antagonism. The terms "Papism" and "Papist" are no longer in vogue; they are employed only to make sport of those who formerly had these words constantly on their lips.

In circles but recently vigorously anti-Catholic one now hears the Papacy and the Holy See spoken of with the greatest deference and respect. This is because the idea of unity has made much progress, and also because, without regard to its confessional aspect, one feels that the Church has created this aspiration toward which the masses are turning with increasing fervor and devotion.

One may say that, if the idea of unity is the very foundation of Catholicism, France has never been as truly Catholic as at this moment. Considering even her most incongruous and complex efforts, one finds in them a soul, so to speak, and this soul is in pursuit of unity. At times there are tentative efforts towards establishing an exterior and liturgical unity; more often it is a sort of missionary fever which drives us to wish other people to adopt our political and social ideas.

But what is remarkable in all these tendencies is their mysticism. They are perfectly disinterested, and free from all alloy. The Frenchman does not wish to conquer new territory; he wishes to pass on his faith to others.

Apparently I have wandered far from Pius X, the Conclave, and the future Pope; in truth, I am in the very midst of the question.

The future Conclave, particularly if Pius X lives several years longer, will assemble under conditions absolutely new.

For one thing, the sovereign Pontiff will have pushed to the limit his idea of Divine, Absolute, and Universal authority, and will have practically demonstrated its dangers even to those who, intellectually and doctrinally, are in perfect accord with his ideas.

On the other hand, many Catholics who are resolutely loyal to their Church, who have found in their faith not only a little treasury of truths acquired forever, but also an inspiration to work, to love, and to live, will continue to investigate the practical worth of dogma. For them the dogmas concerning the Church, its unity, and the obedience due her are facts which never really grip their intelligence until they have first, through experience, found root in the heart. Therefore they do not conceive of the unity of the Church as an exterior unity, disciplinary and bureaucratic, but as a unity of life and of progress; unity of aspiration where harmony is obtained through the myriad of voices, each one giving his note freely, joyously.

Now, these convictions, far more common than those inside the Church may believe to be true, coincide with laic thought in its deepest and most helpful aspect.

Such is, it seems to me, the actual position

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of the Church at the moment when the question of a successor to Pius X presents itself. Readers may find all this rather vague, and they will not be far wrong. But I do not wish to state in precise terms that which is, at the historic moment we are facing, so complex, confused, unorganized; although, doubtless, from these confused and confusing tendencies orderly, concrete efforts will one day ensue.

It is very evident that, for centuries, circumstances and, above all, combinations of interest have worked to the end that all Popes should be Italian. It seems to many Catholics, and even to some eminent Italian prelates, that the interest of the Church, as also the interest of the Papacy, the eternal symbol and center of unity, demands that the future Conclaves renounce this existing order to erect in its place a rule of simple precedence.

An American Pope! Why not? How can the Church maintain its title of "Catholic" if, deliberately, she continues to declare ineligible the citizens of a country where the Church is progressing more rapidly than anywhere else in the world?

If I have succeeded in painting the state of affairs in their true light, readers will recognize that the Roman Church is rent internally by influences which may profoundly change its exterior and perhaps alter the course of its destiny.

The question of authority looms large. Pius X solved it in the most logical, reactionary, and severe sense. One might have believed for a time that he would sign the decree divorcing the Papacy and the Roman Church from the Modern Spirit; but in the instant that the head of the Church attempts that, other voices, of a different sound from his own, will be raised about him; voices which clamor, not only for the reconciliation of the Church and the age, but which proclaim that the most ardent aspirations of our time are blessed by the Church and have their source in her; that the spirit of the age can find peace only in the Church; and that the Church will not be a true mother to her children if she fails to understand the age, the soul of which she has created.

The date of the election of a successor to Pope Pius X will be a historic one in the religious history of the world. Let us prepare ourselves to consider it in a high sense, and not permit ourselves to become absorbed by the detailed chronicle of daily events.

THE NEW BOOKS

Spiritual Message of Dante (The). By the Rt. Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. $1.50.

In justice both to Dante and to his great poem, this volume of lectures at Harvard should be read by those to whom its best known or only known portion is the "Inferno." Bishop Carpenter modestly disclaims a purpose to contribute to the critical study of Dante, though he has not avoided it, and could not. He aims simply to express his thoughts on religious experience as exemplified in the "Divina Commedia;" others are suggested by "pregnant fragments of thought which Dante has left hanging, as it were, on the hedges of the way along which his pilgrim feet have trod." What Bunyan's allegory was in the seventeenth century Dante's was in the fourteenth, a pilgrim's progress in experiences that reach the heights by a path that first leads through the depths of evil self-revealed. "According to Dante, hell is the region from which love is being slowly banished. . . . The lack of love is the disease of the soul, from which all life's worst lives flow." The keynote to the whole poem is the word "love." "Whispered in the dark shades of the 'Inferno,' it is enunciated with clearness in the 'Purgatorio;' it becomes music and perpetual song in the 'Paradiso.'" This reading of Dante by so eminently qualified an interpreter takes its place among the specially valuable.

Essays on Faith and Immortality. By George Tyrrell. Arranged by M. D. Petre. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.40.

Father Tyrrell was excommunicated in 1908 for criticising—though with good Catholic precedents—the papal bull against modernism. His autobiography was published two years ago by Miss Petre, his literary executrix, with a memoir and supplementary documents—the story of a noble struggle for a free intellect and conscience. Further memoranda of that struggle appear in the present volume. Drawn and rearranged mainly from Father Tyrrell's notebooks and journal, they give chief prominence to the subjects named in its title. The essays on

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Faith run largely on the line of the so-called new theology that is modernizing the old Protestantism. He writes: "The Christianity of the New Testament is as little Catholic as it is Protestant. . . . It was not a religion but a spirit . . . which might be found in various religions." The essay on immortality cast their sounding-line into waters too deep for it to fathom. Their inconclusive questionings find vent only in faith's conviction that the final "merging" of human life in the divine will prove to be not the extinction but the enlargement of personality. Father Tyrrell denies that the liberal Catholic is making more slowly for the same goal as the liberal Protestant, but both are represented in him.

Roman Idea of Deity (The). By W. Warde Fowler, M.A. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.40.

In this short course of lectures at Oxford an accomplished scholar discusses a part of the history of religion not hitherto so systematically treated. He finds Cicero's well-known book, "De Natura Deorum," far from satisfactory the work of "an amateur" who did not really believe the subject to be of vital interest. Dr. Fowler pronounces the modern investigator's task to be one of enormous difficulty, and one that yields only a meager result from thorough scrutiny of all that Latin literature contributes to it.

The Roman idea of *Genius* as a divine force active in man and nature must be counted as an element of spiritual religion, and a tendency toward monotheism appears in the cult of the Capitoline Jupiter. From this a door opened to the Stoic idea of a universal Reason, Law, and Order. The Italian way of regarding the divine as "something solid and practical" kept the men of the West from the extravagant worship of the reigning emperor that prevailed in the Eastern provinces. While this is the most that Dr. Fowler has gathered for the main purpose of his research, his examination of the great prose writers and poets brings out many poinst of interest to classical scholars.

History of Philosophy (A). By Frank Thilly. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $2.50.

In giving under this title a connected account of the attempts of thinkers to solve the problems of existence and experience Professor Thilly follows the historico-critical method. Regarding the history of philosophy as exhibiting philosophy at work in self-criticism and self-correction, he lets the philosophers present their thoughts with little criticism by him to interrupt. Greek, mediæval, and modern thinkers having thus been heard from, the historian pronounces for rationalism. By "rationalism" he means more than intellectualism—reason that includes more than the processes of the discursive understanding. "Living consciousness is an event in the world which living consciousness alone can know." He dissents from Bergson's intuitionism, but insists that science is not limited to external objects and outward perception. His rationalism protests against the naturalism which mechanizes all of life and mind, and leaves no room and play for freedom in a "dynamic and developing universe." In view of the rational need of one supreme dynamic to realize such a universe and control its development, why should Professor Thilly's rationalism turn a cold shoulder to all monistic schemes, whether materialistic or spiritual? Eucken's conception of a universal spiritual life as the unitary ground of all being and of its evolutionary processes secures both place and control for all the oppositions, changes, and free development that pluralists recognize, and that Professor Thilly would provide for. His book does credit to the department of philosophy at Cornell.

Collected Essays of Rudolf Eucken. Edited and Translated by Meyrick Booth, B.Sc., Ph.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $4.

The nineteen essays in this volume are upon widely different subjects, and view them from the German standpoint. The problems treated are of universal interest, and the personalities contemplated belong to the literature of mankind. The inner connection that unifies the whole is the central principle of Eucken's philosophy—namely, an Absolute Spiritual Life as the ultimate basis of all reality. Eucken views human existence as one vast process of realizing and appropriating this spiritual reality as a principle that claims for itself every branch of human activity, surmounts all difficulties, harmonizes all discords, and alone can impart consistency and unity to the chaotic confusion of the actual world.

Chambers's English Dictionary. Edited by Thomas Davidson. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

In its earlier and much smaller form The Outlook long ago commended this work for its clear definitions, numerous useful appendices, and compact methods. In the present edition, with its supplemental vocabulary and other improvements, the work fulfills excellently its claim to be a "library dictionary" in one volume. The typography is vastly better than before.

Lad of Kent (A). By Herbert Harrison. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25.

The story of this English lad who lived in Kent a century ago tells in stirring manner and excellent literary form of highwaymen and smuggling, of the press gang and war at sea. The action is vigorous and the incidents are varied and exciting.

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BY THE WAY

A great department store in Chicago, according to a writer in "Collier's," never advertises reduced-price goods in the familiar form, "Was $5; now $2.50." "We take the position," said an official of the store, "that things are worth what they will bring." If the store gets a lot of coats that were meant to sell at $40 but which it is willing to sell at $22.50, it never advertises "Worth $40," but "just points out that these are exceptionally good coats for the money." This advertising pays, the official said, because in the long run it teaches the people to rely absolutely on the store's statements.

Vorticism is supposed to be the latest thing in art, Cubisim and Futurism being regarded as too photographic for the taste of the Vorticists. They are largely English, and publish a magazine called "Blast." "The Cape of Good Hope," a picture by Edward Wadsworth, reproduced in the magazine, shows a medley of shapes remotely suggesting lifeboats, funnels, marlinspikes, and anchors, without perspective, coherence, or intelligibility.

Spain has a car-building plant which employs 1,800 men. In 1913 it ran nearly to its full capacity—3,000 freight and 200 passenger cars per year.

Mexican dishes as Americanized along the border are characterized by a writer in "To-Day" as most delicious. Frijoles are called much better than our baked beans, Spanish rice is described as very palatable, and chili con carne as a troublesome and elaborate dish, but one well worth the effort of making. Cooked cucumber salad is a novelty that is said to be well worth imitating.

"There is no mistaking the influence of the English Bible on Conrad's prose style," says James Huneker in an appreciation of Joseph Conrad's genius. "He is saturated with its puissant, elemental rhythms, and his prose has its surge and undertow. That is why his is never a 'painted ship on a painted ocean.'"

"Please give me a lift," a familiar appeal by a pedestrian on a country road to his more favored brother in a vehicle, is sometimes varied in New York State, a newspaper writer asserts, to "Please give me a hitch." Apropos of this the story is told that Lincoln once asked a man driving along a country road to carry his overcoat. "Certainly," said the man, "but what about yourself?" "I intend to remain in it," was the laconic reply.

Here is "Life's" characterization of the situation in Mexico: "Sentry—'Flag of truce, Excellency.' General—'What do the revolutionists want now?' Sentry—'They would like to exchange a couple of generals for a case of cigarettes and a pack of cards.'"

Starlings are not liked in Australia, according to reports from the American Consul at Melbourne. Besides being destructive to fruit, they are charged with turning valuable native insect-eating birds out of their nests. Starlings are said to be rapidly increasing in the United States, and are, it is thought, destined to become among the most numerous of our birds, ranking with that other objectionable exotic, the English sparrow.

"The omission of remarks from funeral services," says the "Christian Register" in an editorial on "Post-Mortem Proprieties," ". . . is a protection against well-meaning excess of praise, and it preserves the minister from ghastly, but blameless, mistakes. . . . In our recollection the services that have brought the greatest personal comfort have been those in which there was the least personal reference." The "Register" commends the "great sentences" of the Scriptures as the best service, saying that what is worthy in the life that is departed is called up by them, and from what may have been unworthy we are withdrawn by their noble guidance.

A subscriber writes to urge the claims of Richard Trevithick as "entitled to the empty glory of having designed and built the first successful locomotive." The date of its trial was February 21, 1804. As with other inventions, however, fate is whimsical in awarding popular glory to this or that individual where several are working on similar lines, and Stephenson's fame as the originator of the first practicable railway locomotive seems secure.

Paragould, Arkansas, a city of 8,000 people, is building a $100,000 hotel and reaching out for business through what its Chamber of Commerce describes as "the Baer plan." The plan in brief, it says, is the donation and purchase of idle real estate in any community for the business advantage of the city. In less than a week, the descriptive circular says, the committee has secured for this purpose donations of real estate amounting to more than $15,000. Little Rock, it is stated, has raised $250,000 by this plan.

The Rev. Alan Pressley Wilson, President of the Society for Social Advance, Baltimore, Maryland, suggests a campaign in favor of persuading country boys and girls to stay on the farm. Mr. Wilson claims that country youth make up a large portion of the victims of the social evil, and that by making life on the farm so attractive that they will not desire to leave it the traffic in souls will be reduced, if not curbed.

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